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# TRAVELS

OF

# *ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER*

IN

# GREECE;

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

*TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.*

IN FOUR VOLUMES,

*AND A FIFTH,*

CONTAINING

MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

*Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.*

VOL. IV.

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# TRAVELS

IN

# *GREECE.*

## CHAP. LXIX.

### *History of the Grecian Theatre.*

ABOUT that time I finished my researches relative to the dramatic art, concerning the origin and progress of which writers are divided, since the various states of Greece assert their different claims to the honour of having given it birth [a]; but I have preferred the traditions of the Athenians, because I have believed them to be the most probable.

This most regular and sublime of all the arts took birth in the bosom of tumultuous pleasures, and the extravagances of intoxication [b]. Let us convey ourselves, in imagination, about three centuries back from the present time.

In the festivals of Bacchus, solemnized in the cities with less ceremony and pomp, but with a more lively joy, than they are now celebrated [c], hymns were sung which were the offspring of the true or feigned ecstasies of a poetical delirium; I mean to speak of those dithyrambics which sometimes dis-

[a] Buleng. de Theatr. lib. 1. cap. 2. Arist. de Poet. t. ii. cap. 3. p. 654.

[b] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 40.

[c] Plut. de Cupid. Divit. t. ii. p. 527.



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played the flights of genius, and ſtill more frequently the obſcure flaſhes of a heated imagination. While theſe reſounded in the aſtoniſhed ears of the multitude, choruſes of Bacchants and Fauns, ranged around certain obſcene images, which they carried in triumphal proceſſion [d], chanted laſcivious ſongs, and ſometimes ſacrificed individuals to public ridicule.

A ſtill greater licentiouſneſs reigned in the worſhip paid to the ſame divinity by the inhabitants of the country, and eſpecially at the ſeaſon when they gathered the fruits of his beneficence. Vintigers, beſmeared with wine-lees, and intoxicated with joy and the juice of the grape, rode forth in their carts, and attacked each other on the road with groſs ſarcaſms, revenging themſelves on their neighbours with ridicule, and on the rich by publiſhing their injuſtice [e].

Among the poets who flouriſhed at that time, ſome celebrated the great actions and adventures of gods and heroes [f], and others attacked with aſperity the vices and abſurdities of individuals. The former took Homer for their model, and ſupported themſelves by his example, of which they made an improper uſe. Homer, the moſt tragic of poets [g] the model of all who have ſucceeded him, had in the Iliad and the Odyſſey brought to perfection the heroic poem, and in his Margites had employed pleaſantry [h]. But as the charm of his works depends in a great meaſure on the paſſions and motion with which he knew to animate them, the poets who came after him endeavoured to introduce into theirs an action which might excite emotion or mirth in the ſpectators: ſome even attempted to produce both, and ventured certain rude eſſays, which have ſince been ſtyled indifferently either tragedies or comedies, becauſe they unite the characters of thoſe two dramas [i]. The authors of theſe ſketches have been

d Plut. de Cupid. Divit. t. ii. p. 527.
e Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 295. Schol. in Prolegom. Ariſtoph. p. 12. Donat. Fragm. de Comœd. et Tragœd. Bulenq. de Theatr. lib. 1. cap. 6.
f Ariſt. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 654.
g Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. p. 598. et 607. Id in Theæt. t. i. p. 152.
h Ariſtot. ibid.
i Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Proleg. p. 12.



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diſtinguiſhed by no diſcovery; they only form in the hiſtory of the art a ſucceſſion of names which it would be uſeleſs to recal to light [k].

The neceſſity and power of theatrical intereſt was already known. The hymns in honour of Bacchus, while they deſcribed his rapid progreſs and ſplendid conqueſts, became imitative [l]; and in the conteſts of the Pythian games, the players on the flute who entered into competition, were enjoined by an expreſs law to repreſent ſucceſſively the circumſtances that had preceded, accompanied, and followed the victory of Apollo over Python [m].

Some years after this regulation [n], Suſarion and Theſpis, both born in a ſmall borough of Attica, named Icaria [o], appeared each at the head of a company of actors, the one on a kind of ſtage, the other in a cart *. The former attacked the vices and abſurdities of his time; and the latter treated more noble ſubjects, which he took from hiſtory.

The comedies of Suſarion were in the ſame taſte with thoſe indecent and ſatirical farces which are ſtill performed in ſome of the cities of Greece [p]. They were long the favourite entertainment of the country people [q]. Athens did not adopt this ſpecies of exhibition until after it was brought to perfection in Sicily [r].

Theſpis had more than once ſeen in the feſtivals, in which as yet hymns only were ſung, one of the ſingers, mounted on a table, form a kind of dialogue with the chorus [s]. From this hint he conceived the idea of introducing into his trage-

Mem. d l' Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 260. Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 420.

[k] Suid. in Θέσπ.

[l] Ariſtot. Probl. cap. 19. probl. 15. t. ii. p. 764.

[m] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 813. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 10. § 84. Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 419.

[n] Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 40. et 44.

[o] Suid. in Θέσπ. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 275. Ath. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 40.

* Suſarion repreſented his firſt pieces towards the year 580 before Chriſt. Some years after, Theſpis made his firſt attempts in tragedy, and acted his Alceſtis in 536.

[p] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 654.

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 656.

[s] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 123.



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dies an actor who, by simple recitals, introduced at intervals, should give relief to the chorus, divide the action, and render it more interesting [t]. This happy innovation, together with some other liberties in which he had allowed himself, gave alarm to the legislator of Athens, who was more able than any other person to discern the value or danger of the novelty. Solon condemned a species of composition in which the ancient traditions were disguised by fictions. "If we applaud "falsehood in our public exhibitions," said he to Thespis, "we shall soon find that it will insinuate itself into our most "sacred engagements [u]."

The excessive approbation and delight with which both the city and country received the pieces of Thespis and Susarion, at once justified and rendered useless the suspicious foresight of Solon. The poets, who till then had only exercised their genius in dithyrambics and licentious satire, struck with the elegant forms which these species of composition began to assume, dedicated their talents to tragedy and comedy [x]. Soon after a greater variety was introduced in the subjects of the former of these poems. Those who judge of their pleasures only from habit, exclaimed, that these subjects were foreign to the worship of Bacchus [y]; but the greater number thronged with still more eagerness after the new pieces.

Phrynichus, the disciple of Thespis, made choice of that kind of verse which is most suitable to the drama, was the author of some other changes [z], and left tragedy in its infancy.

Æschylus received it from his hands enveloped in a rude vestment, its visage covered with false colours, or a mask inexpressive of character [a], without either grace or dignity in his motions, inspiring the desire of an interest which it with difficulty excited, still attached to the buffooneries which had

[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 56.
[u] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 95. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 59.
[x] Arist. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.
[y] Plut. Sympos. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 615.
[z] Suid. in Φρύν.
[a] Id. in Θέσπ.

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amuſed its infant years [b], and expreſſing its conceptions ſometimes with elegance and dignity, but frequently in a feeble and low ſtyle, polluted with groſs obſcenities.

The father of tragedy, for ſo this great man may be called [c], had received from nature a ſtrong and ardent mind. His ſilence and gravity announced the auſterity of his character [d]. He had ſignalized his courage in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, in which ſo many Athenians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour [e]. From his earlieſt years he had been attentive to the leſſons of thoſe poets who, living near to the heroic times, conceived ideas as ſublime as the illuſtrious deeds which were then achieved [f]. The hiſtory of thoſe remote ages preſented to his lively imagination ſignal ſucceſſes and reverſes of fortune, thrones drenched with blood, impetuous and devouring paſſions, ſublime virtues, atrocious crimes, and dreadful acts of vengeance; every where he beheld the impreſs of grandeur, and frequently that of ferocity.

The better to enſure the effect of theſe ſcenes, it was neceſſary to detach them from the whole in which they were included by the ancient poets; and this had been already done by the authors of the dithyrambics and the earlieſt tragedies; but they had neglected to bring them near to us. As we are infinitely more affected by thoſe woes to which we are witneſſes, than by thoſe of which we only hear the recital [g]; Æſchylus employed all the reſources of theatrical repreſentation to bring the time and place of the ſcene before the eyes of the ſpectator. The illuſion then became a reality.

In his firſt tragedies he introduced a ſecond actor [h]; and afterward, copying the example of Sophocles, who had juſt entered on his theatrical career, he admitted a third [i], and ſome-

[b] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.
[c] Philoſtr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 245.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 857.
[e] Vit. Æſchyl.
Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1062.
[g] Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 559.
[h] Id. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 56.
[i] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 655. &c. v. 900, &c. Id. in Eumenid. Dacier, Rem. ſur la Poet. d'Ariſtot. p. 50.



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times even a fourth [k]. By this multiplicity of perſonages, one of his actors became the hero of the piece, and attracted to himſelf the principal intereſt; and as the chorus now held only a ſubaltern ſtation, Æſchylus took care to ſhorten its part, and perhaps even carried this precaution too far [l].

He is cenſured for having admitted mute characters into his drama. Achilles, after the death of his friend, and Niobe, after the deſtruction of her children, appear on the ſtage, and remain, during ſeveral ſcenes, motionleſs, with their heads covered with a veil, and without uttering a word [m]; but if their eyes had overflown with tears, and they had poured forth the bittereſt lamentations, could they have produced an effect ſo terrible as this veil, this ſilence, and this abandonment to grief?

In ſome of his pieces the expoſition of his ſubject has too much extent [n], and in others is deficient in perſpicuity [o]. Though he frequently offends againſt the rules that have been ſince eſtabliſhed, he appears to have had a glimpſe of almoſt all of them.

We may ſay of Æſchylus what he has himſelf ſaid of his hero Hippomedon:

> ——— Before him ſtrides
> Gigantic Terror, tow'ring to the ſkies [p].

He inceſſantly inſpires a profound and ſalutary terror; for he only overwhelms the mind with violent ſhocks, to raiſe it again immediately by the idea which he gives us of its ſtrength. His heroes prefer being cruſhed by the thunderbolt to committing an act of baſeneſs, and their courage is more inflexible than the fatal law of neceſſity. He nevertheleſs knew to ſet bounds to theſe emotions which he laboured ſo earneſtly to

[k] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 110.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 945. Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 942. Schol. ibid. Spanh. ibid. p. 311.
[n] Æſchyl. in Agamem.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1163.
[p] Sept. contr. Theb. v. 506.

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excite, and conſtantly avoided polluting the ſtage with blood[q]; for he wiſhed to produce ſcenes that ſhould be terrible but not horrible.

He rarely cauſes tears to flow[r], or excites pity, either becauſe nature had refuſed him that gentle ſenſibility which pants to communicate itſelf to others; or rather, perhaps, becauſe he feared to render his auditors effeminate. He has never exhibited on the ſtage a Phædra or a Sthenobœ, nor ever painted the delicious joys or wild furies of love[s]. He beheld in the different tranſports of that paſſion, only weakneſs or guilt, of pernicious tendency to morals, and he wiſhed that nothing might diminiſh our eſteem for thoſe whoſe fate we are compelled to lament.

Let us continue to follow the immenſe ſtrides he has made in the dramatic career, and examine the manner in which he has acquitted himſelf in the different parts of tragedy, that is to ſay in the fable, manners, ſentiments, diction, decoration, and muſic[t].

His plots are extremely ſimple: he diſregarded or was not ſufficiently acquainted with the art of avoiding improbabilities[u], complicating and developing an action, cloſely connecting its different parts, and haſtening or retarding it by diſcoveries, and other unforeſeen accidents[x]. He ſometimes only intereſts us by the recital of facts, and the vivacity of the dialogue[y]; and at other times by the vigour of his ſtyle, and the terror of his ſcenes[z]. He appears to have conſidered the unity of action and of time as eſſential, but that of place as leſs neceſſary[a]. The chorus with him is no longer confined to chanting certain odes or ſongs, but makes a part of the whole. It is the comforter of the wretched, the counſellor of

[q] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1064. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 244.
[r] Vit. Æſchyl.
[s] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1075.
[t] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 656. Dion. Chryſ. Orat. 52. p. 549. Æſchyl. in Agam.
[x] Vit. Æſchyl.
[y] Æſchyl. in Sept. contr. Theb.
[z] Id. in Suppl. et Eumen.
[a] Id. in Eumen.



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kings, the terror of tyrants, and the confidant of all. Sometimes it participates in the action during its whole continuance [b]. This is what the ſucceſſors of Æſchylus ought more frequently to have practiſed, and what he has not always practiſed himſelf.

The character and manners of his perſonages are ſuitable, and rarely fail in conſiſtency. He uſually choſe his models from the heroic times, and ſuſtains his characters at the elevation to which Homer had raiſed his heroes [c]. He delights in exhibiting vigorous and free minds, ſuperior to fear, devoted to their country, animated by an inſatiable thirſt of glory and of combats, more noble than thoſe of the preſent age, and ſuch as he wiſhed to form for the defence of Greece [d]; for he wrote in the time of the Perſian war.

As he inclines more to excite terror than pity, far from endeavouring to ſoften the harſh features of certain characters, he ſeeks only to render them more ferocious; but without injury to the theatrical intereſt. Clytæmneſtra, after having murdered her huſband, relates the atrocious deed with bitter deriſion, and the intrepidity of remorſeleſs villany. Her crime would be horrible if it were not an act of juſtice in her eyes, if it were not decreed by Fate, and if it were not requiſite, according to the received principles of the heroic ages, that blood unjuſtly ſhed ſhould be waſhed away by blood [e]. Clytæmneſtra lets us ſee her jealouſy of Caſſandra, and her love for Ægiſthus [f]; but motives ſo feeble did not guide her hand. Nature and the gods [g] have compelled her to take vengeance; and thus ſhe addreſſes the chorus of Argives:

> I tell thee, my firm ſoul diſdains to fear.
> Be thou diſpos'd t' applaud, or cenſure me,
> I reck it not: there Agamemnon lies;

---

[b] Id. in Suppl. et Eumen.
[c] Dion. Chryſ. Orat. 52. p. 549.
[d] Æſchyl. in Prom. v. 178. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1046. 1073.
[e] Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 1571.
[f] Id. ibid. v. 1445.
[g] Id. ibid. v. 1494.

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My huſband, ſlaughter'd by this hand: I dare
Avow his death, and juſtify the deed [h].
————I ſtruck him twice, and twice
He groan'd, then died. A third time, as he lay
I gor'd him with a wound, a grateful preſent
To the ſtern god, that in the realms below
Reigns o'er the dead: there let him take his ſeat.
He lay; and ſpouting from his wounds a ſtream
Of blood, bedew'd me with theſe crimſon drops;
I glory in them like the genial earth,
When the warm ſhow'rs of heav'n deſcend, and wake
The flowrets to unfold their vermeil leaves [i].
—For Iphigenia, my lamented child,
Whom he unjuſtly ſlew, he juſtly died.
Thou ſay'ſt, and ſay'ſt aloud I did this deed:
Say not that I, that Agamemnon's wife
Did it. The Fury fatal to his houſe,
In vengeance for Thyeſtes' horrid feaſt,
Aſſum'd this form, and, with her ancient rage,
Hath for the children ſacrific'd the man [k].

POTTER.

This idea will become more manifeſt from the following reflection. Among the diſorders and myſteries of nature, none made a more forcible impreſſion on Æſchylus than the ſtrange deſtiny of the human race: with reſpect to man, the crimes he commits, and the woes of which he is the victim; and with regard to the powers above him, celeſtial vengeance and blind fatality [l]; by the former of which mortals are purſued when guilty, and by the latter impelled when unfortunate. Such is the doctrine which he had derived from his intercourſe with the ſages [m], which he has inculcated in almoſt all his dramas, and which, holding the minds of the audience in continual terror, inceſſantly exhorted them not to draw on

[h] Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 1411.
Id. ibid. v. 1398.
[k] Id. ibid. v. 1506.
[l] Id. in Prom. v. 103. et 513.
[m] Eurip. in Alc. v. 962.

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them the anger of the gods, and to ſubmit to the ſtrokes of fate [n]. Hence the ſovereign contempt which he teſtifies for the illuſive goods by which we are dazzled, and that force of eloquence with which he pourtrays the miſchiefs of Fortune. Caſſandra exclaims with indignation:

> This is the ſtate of man: in proſperous fortune,
> A ſhadow, paſſing light, throws to the ground
> Joy's baſeleſs fabric: in adverſity,
> Comes Malice with a ſponge moiſten'd in gall,
> And wipes each beauteous character away.
> More than the firſt this melts my ſoul to pity [o] *.
>
> POTTER.

In his time, no other ſtyle was known for heroic compoſition but that of the epopœia and that of the dithyrambic. As they ſuited the elevation of his ideas and ſentiments, Æſchylus, without enfeeblieg them, transferred them to tragedy. Hurried away by an enthuſiaſm which he was unable to govern, he laviſhes epithets, metaphors, every figurative expreſſion of the emotions of the ſoul, and whatever may give weight, ſtrength, and magnificence to language [p], or animate and render it impaſſioned. Beneath his vigorous pencil, narrative, ſentiments and maxims are changed into images, which are ſtriking for their beauty or their ſingularity. In that tragedy [q], which may with propriety be called the offſpring of Mars [r], the ſoldier who had been ſent by Eteocles to reconnoitre the army of the Argives, thus addreſſes his ſovereign:

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[n] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 293.

[o] Id. in Agam. v. 1335.

* The French reads, "Oh human grandeur! brilliant and vain image, which a ſhadow may obſcure, a drop of water efface! The proſperity of man more excites my pity than his miſfortunes."

[p] Vit. Æſchyl. Dionyſ. Halic. de Priſc. Script. cap. 2. t. v. p. 423. Phrynic. ap. Phot. p. 327. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 280.

[q] Sept. contr. Theb.

[r] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1053. Plut. in Sympoſ. lib. 7. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 715.

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" Illuſtrious king of Thebes, I bring thee tidings
Of firm aſſurance from the foe; theſe eyes
Beheld each circumſtance. Seven valiant chiefs
Slew on the black-orb'd ſhield the victim bull,
And dipping in the gore their furious hands,
In ſolemn oath atteſt the god of war,
Bellona, and the carnage-loving power
Of terror, ſworn from their firm baſe to rend
Theſe walls, and lay their ramparts in the duſt;
Or, dying, with their warm blood ſteep this earth [s]."

POTTER.

He ſays of a man of conſummate prudence: " He reaps thoſe ſage and generous reſolutions which ſpring in the deep furrows of his ſoul [t] *:" and elſewhere; " The intelligence by which I am animated, has deſcended from heaven to earth, and cries to me inceſſantly: Beſtow but a ſlight regard on what is mortal [u]." He thus warns a free people early to watch over the conduct of a citizen dangerous from his abilities and his riches: " Beware how you nurſe up a young lion, how you careſs him while he yet fears you, or how you reſiſt him when he is grown a ſtranger to fear [x]."

Yet theſe ſhining paſſages are accompanied, in ſome of his works, by an obſcurity, which ariſes not only from his extreme conciſeneſs and the boldneſs of his figures, but alſo from new words [y], with which he affected to enrich his ſtyle. Æſchylus conceived that his heroes ought not to expreſs their ideas like the crowd, and that their diction ſhould be more elevated than vulgar language [z]: it indeed frequently riſes above all known language. To give it vigour, words of exceſſive length, harſhly conſtructed from the fragments of ſe-

[s] Æſchyl. Sept. contr. Theb. Long. de Subl. cap. 15.
[t] Æſchyl Sept. contr. Theb. v. 599.
* The Scholiaſt obſerves that Plato has uſed the ſame expreſſion in a paſſage in his Republic.
[u] Æſchyl. in Niob. ap. Æſchyl. Fragm. p. 641.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1478.
[y] Dionyſ. Halic. de Priſc. Script. cap. 2. t. v. p. 423.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1092.

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veral others, arise in the midst of a sentence, like those proud towers, to use the comparison of Aristophanes [a], which overlooks the ramparts of a city,

The eloquence of Æschylus was too nervous to submit to the refinements of elegance, harmony, and correctness [b]; and his flights too daring not to expose him to frequent extravagance and failures. His style is in general noble and sublime, in certain parts grand to excess, and pompous to inflation [c]; but sometimes degraded and disgusting by ignoble comparisons [d], a puerile play on words [e], and other defects which are common to this author with all those who possess more genius than taste. But notwithstanding his faults, he merits a distinguished rank among the most celebrated poets of Greece.

It was not sufficient that the noble and elevated style of tragedy should leave in the minds of the auditors a strong impression of grandeur; to captivate the multitude, it was requisite that every part of the spectacle should concur to produce the same effect. It was then the general opinion that Nature, by bestowing on the ancient heroes a more lofty stature [f], had impressed on their persons a majesty which procured them as much respect from the people as the ensigns of dignity by which they were attended. Æschylus therefore raised his actors on high stilts or buskins [g]. He covered their features, which were frequently disagreeable, with a mask that concealed their irregularity [h]. He clothed them in flowing and magnificent robes, the form of which was so decent, that the priests of Ceres have not blushed to adopt it [i]. The inferior actors were also provided with masks and dresses suited to their parts.

[a] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1036.
[b] Vit. Æschyl. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. cap. 22. t. v. p. 150. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 15. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1295.
[c] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 632.
[d] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 330. et 875.
[e] Id. ibid. v. 698.
[f] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 73.; lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 152. Aul. Gel. lib. 3. cap. 10.
[g] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 245. Id. Vit. Soph. lib. 1. p. 492. Lucian. de Salt. § 27. t. ii. p. 284. Vit. Æschyl. ap. Robort. p. 11.
[h] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 278.
[i] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 21.

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Inſtead of thoſe wretched ſcaffolds which were formerly erected in haſte, he obtained a theatre [k] furniſhed with machines, and embelliſhed with decorations [l]. Here the ſound of the trumpet was reverberated, incenſe was ſeen to burn on the altars, the ſhades of the dead to ariſe from the tomb, and the Furies to ruſh from the gulfs of Tartarus. In one of his pieces theſe infernal divinities appeared, for the firſt time, with maſks of a horrid paleneſs, torches in their hands, ſerpents intertwined in their hairs [m], and followed by a numerous retinue of dreadful ſpectres. It is ſaid that, at the ſight of them, and the ſound of their terrific howlings, terror ſeized on the whole aſſembly, women miſcarried, and children expired with fear [n]; and that the magiſtrates, to prevent ſimilar accidents in future, commanded that the chorus ſhould conſiſt only of fifteen actors inſtead of fifty [o].

The effect of ſo many new objects could not but aſtoniſh the ſpectators; nor were they leſs ſurpriſed and delighted at the intelligence diſplayed in the performance of the actors, whom Æſchylus almoſt always exerciſed himſelf. He regulated their ſteps, and taught them to give additional force to the action by new and expreſſive geſtures.

He inſtructed them ſtill more effectually by his example, as he performed with them in his pieces [p]. Sometimes he called in the aſſiſtanoe of an able maſter of the choruſes, named Teleſtes, who had brought the art of geſture to perfection. In the repreſentation of the ſeven chiefs before Thebes, he performed with ſuch truth and expreſſion, that his action might have ſupplied the place of words [q].

We have already ſaid that Æſchylus had transferred to tragedy the ſtyle of the epopœia and the dithyrambic; he alſo applied to it the lofty modulations and impetuous rhythmus

[k] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 279.
[l] Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p 124. Vit. Æſchyl. ap. Robort. p. 11. Vit. Æſchyl. ap. Stanl. p. 702.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 423. Schol. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 68.
[n] Vit. Æſchyl.
[o] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 110.
[p] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 21.
[q] Ariſtocl. ap. Athen. ibid. p. 22.



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of certain airs, or *nomi*, calculated to excite courage [r]; but he did not adopt thoſe innovations which began to diſfigure the ancient muſic. His choral chant is full of grandeur and decorum; and conſtantly in the diatonic genus [s], which is the moſt ſimple and natural of all.

Being falſely accuſed of having revealed in one of his dramas the Eleuſinian myſteries, he with difficulty eſcaped the fury of of the fanatic multitude [t]: yet he forgave the Athenians this injuſtice, becauſe his life only had been in danger. But when he ſaw the peices of his rivals crowned in preference to his own—"I muſt leave to time," ſaid he, "to reſtore mine to the place they merit [u];" and abandoning his country, went to reſide in Sicily [x], where king Hiero loaded him with benefactions and honours. He died there a ſhort time after, aged about ſeventy years *. The following epitaph, which he compoſed himſelf [y], was engraven on his tomb:—"Here lies Æſchylus, the ſon of Euphorion, born in Attica. He died in the fertile country of Gela. The Perſians and the woods of Marathon will for ever atteſt his valour."—At the time when he wrote theſe lines, he was doubtleſs diſguſted with literary fame, and knew no glory more illuſtrious than that of arms. The Athenians decreed honours to his memory; and authors who deſign to dedicate their genius to the theatre, have more than once been ſeen to go to make libations, and recite their works at his tomb [z].

I have ſpoken at ſome length on the merit of this poet, becauſe almoſt all the novelties he introduced were diſcoveries; and becauſe it was more difficult, with the models which he

[r] Timarch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1315. Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 1161. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Let. t. x. p. 285.

[s] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1137.

[t] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 461.

[u] Athen. lib. 8. cap 8. p. 347.

[x] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.

* The year 456 before Chriſt (Marm. Oxon. epoch. 60. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 119.)

[y] Schol. Vit. Æſchyl. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

[z] Vit. Æſchyl. ap. Stanl.

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had before his eyes, to raiſe tragedy to the elevation at which he left it, than, after him, to bring it to perfection [a].

The progreſs of the art was extremely rapid. Æſchylus was born ſome years after Theſpis had acted his Alceſtis *. He had for contemporaries and competitors Chœrilus, Pratinas, and Phrynichus, whoſe glory he eclipſed; and Sophocles, who rivalled his own.

Sophocles was born of a reputable family of Athens, in the 4th year of the 70th Olympiad [b], about twenty-ſeven years after the birth of Æſchylus, and fourteen before that of Euripides [c].

I ſhall not relate, that, after the battle of Salamis, Sophocles, placed at the head of a chorus of youths who chanted ſongs of victory around a trophy, attracted the attention of every eye, by the beauty of his perſon, and united in his favour the ſuffrages of all who heard the muſic of his lyre [d]; that, on different occaſions, important employments, both civil and military †, were confided to him [e]; that, at the age of eighty [f], an ungrateful ſon having accuſed him of being no longer capable of conducting his affairs, he made no other defence than by reading to the audience his tragedy of Oedipus at Colonus, which he had juſt finiſhed; that his judges, with indignation at ſuch a charge, confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his rights, and that all who were preſent conducted him home in triumph [g]; that he died at the age of ninety-one

[a] Schol. Vit. Æſchyl. ap. Robort. p. 11.

* Theſpis brought his Alceſtis on the ſtage in the year 536 before Chriſt; Æſchylus was born in the year 525 before the ſame æra, and Sophocles towards the year 497.

[b] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 57. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. ii. p. 49.

[c] Vit. Sophocl. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 75. Marm. Oxon. ibid.

[d] Schol. Vit. Soph. Athen. lib. i. cap. 17. p. 20.

[e] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 156. Cicer. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 40. t. iii. p. 220.

† He commanded the army in conjunction with Pericles: this, however, does not prove that he poſſeſſed military talents, but only that he was one of the ten generals annually appointed by lot.

[f] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 601.

[g] Cicer. de Senect. cap. 7. t. iii. p. 301. Plut. an Seni. t. ii. p. 785. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7. Extern. No. 12.

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years [h], after having enjoyed a glory, the ſplendour of which increaſes from day to day. Theſe facts, however honourable, would not do him ſufficient honour. But I ſhall ſay that the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the graces of his mind, acquired him a great number of friends, which he preſerved during his whole life [i]; that, without pride or regret, he reſiſted the ſolicitations of kings who endeavoured to draw him to their courts [k]; that as, in the age in which pleaſure reigns triumphant, he was ſometimes led aſtray by the paſſion of love [l], far from repining at old age, he congratulated himſelf on having arrived at it, as a ſlave delivered from his bonds, and no longer obliged to obey the caprices of a ferocious tyrant [m]; that at the death of Euripides his rival, which happened a ſhort time before his own, he appeared in mourning, participated in the public grief, and did not permit his actors, in a piece which he brought on the ſtage, to appear with crowns on their heads [n].

He at firſt applied himſelf to lyric poetry [o]: but his genius ſoon urged him to purſue a more glorious track; and his firſt ſucceſs finally confirmed him in his choice. He was twenty-eight years of age when he became a competitor with Æſchylus, who was then in poſſeſſion of the ſtage [p]. At the repreſentation of the pieces, the firſt of the archons, who preſided at the conteſt, could not draw by lot the judges who were to confer the crown. The ſpectators, divided in their opinions, made the theatre reſound with their clamours; which continually grew more loud, when the ten generals of the republic, having at their head Cimon, who by his victories and generoſity had attained the ſummit of renown and influence, aſcended the ſtage, and approached the altar of

[h] Diod Sic. lib. 13. p. 22. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 65.
[i] Schol. Vit. Soph.
[k] Id. ibid.
[l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 592 et 603.
[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 329. Plut. t. ii. p. 1094. Cicer. de Senect. cap. 14. t. iii p. 309. Athen. lib 12. cap. 1. p. 510. Stob. ſerm. 6. p. 78.
[n] Thom. Mag. in Vit. Euripid.
[o] Suid. in Σοφοκλ.
[p] Marm. Oxon. epoch 57. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 48. t. iii. p. 189.

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Bacchus, to make the accuſtomed libations before they retired. Their preſence, and the ceremony which they were performing, appeaſed the tumult; and the archon, having choſen them to name the victor, made them take their ſeats, and the cuſtomary oath. The plurality of voices was in favour of Sophocles [q]; and Æſchylus, offended at the preference which had been given to his rival, retired ſoon after into Sicily.

So ſplendid a triumph ſeemed for ever to enſure to Sophocles the ſovereignty of the ſtage: but it had been witneſſed by the youth Euripides; who aſpired to emulate it, even while he was taking leſſons of eloquence under Prodicus, and of philoſophy under Anaxagoras. He was ſeen, therefore, at the age of eighteen [r], to enter the theatrical career, which he and Sophocles ran with rival ſpeed, like two ſpirited courſers who with equal ardour pant for the victory.

Though Euripides poſſeſſed many pleaſing qualities of mind, his ſeverity in general baniſhed from his air the graces of the ſmile, and the brilliant colours of joy [s]. He, as well as Pericles, had contracted this habit from the example of Anaxagoras, their common maſter [t]. Jeſts and pleaſantries excited his indignation. "I hate," ſays he in one of his pieces, "thoſe uſeleſs men who have no other merit than that of indulging their mirth at the expence of the ſages whom they contemn [u]." In this expreſſion he alluded eſpecially to the authors of comedies; who, on their ſide, endeavoured to caſt an odium on his morals, as they did to calumniate thoſe of the philoſophers. But to this accuſation it had been a ſufficient anſwer to have obſerved, that Euripides was the friend of Socrates, who was ſeldom preſent at theatrical repreſentations, except when the pieces of that poet were acted [x].

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[q] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.
[r] Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 15. cap. 20.
[s] Alex. Ætol. ap. Aul. Gell. ibid.
[t] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 154. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 12.
[u] Euripid. in Melan. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 613.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 13.



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He had exhibited on the ſtage princeſſes polluted with crimes; and on theſe occaſions had more than once launched forth into violent invectives againſt women in general [y]. Endeavours were therefore made to irritate them againſt him [z]. Some maintained that he hated them [a]; but others, more intelligent, affirmed that he loved them with ardour [b]. "Euripides deteſts women," ſaid, one day, ſome perſon. "Yes," replied Sophocles, "but it is in his tragedies [c]."

Various reaſons induced him, towards the cloſe of his life, to retire to Archelaus king of Macedon, who invited to his court all who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in literature and the arts. He there found Zeuxis and Timotheus [d]; of whom the former had been the author of a revolution in painting, and the latter in muſic. He alſo found there the poet Agatho, his friend [e], one of the moſt worthy and amiable men of his time [f]. He it was who ſaid to Archelaus—"A king ought to remember three things: that he rules over men; that he ought to rule them according to the laws; and that he will not rule over them for ever [g]." Euripides ſpoke his ſentiments with equal freedom; to which he might claim a right, ſince he ſolicited no favour. On a certain occaſion, when it was cuſtomary to make ſome little preſents to the ſovereign, as a token of attachment and reſpect, he did not appear among the crowd of flatterers and courtiers, who were eager to acquit themſelves of this duty; and when Archelaus ſlightly noticed his neglect, Euripides replied—"When the poor man "gives, he aſks [h]."

He died ſome years after, aged about ſeventy-ſix [i]. The Athenians ſent deputies to Macedon, to ſolicit that his body

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[y] Euripid. in Melan. ap. Barn. t. ii. p. 480.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. Barn. in Vit. Euripid. No. 19.
[a] Schol. Arg. in Theſmoph. p. 472.
[b] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 8. p. 603.
[c] Hieron. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 557. Stob. ſerm. 6. p. 80.
[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 17. Plut. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 21.
[f] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 84.
[g] Stob. ſerm. 44. p. 308.
[h] Euripid. in Archel. ap. Barn. t. ii. p. 456. v. 11.
[i] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 64.



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might be brought back to Athens: but Archelaus, who had already given public ſigns of his grief, refuſed to grant the requeſt; and conſidered it as an honour to his ſtates to preſerve the remains of a great man. He cauſed a magnificent tomb to be erected to him, near his capital, on the banks of a ſtream, the water of which is ſo excellent, that it invites the traveller to ſtop [k], and, conſequently, contemplate the monument which meets his eyes. At the ſame time the Athenians erected to him a cenotaph, on the road which leads from the city to the Piræus [l]. They pronounce his name with reſpect, and ſometimes with tranſport. At Salamis, the place of his birth, they were eager to ſhow me a grotto in which it is pretended he compoſed the greater part of his pieces [m]: in like manner, at the village of Colonus, the inhabitants more than once pointed out to me the houſe in which Sophocles had paſſed a part of his life [n].

Athens loſt theſe two celebrated poets almoſt at the ſame time. Scarcely had they cloſed their eyes, when Ariſtophanes, in a piece acted with ſucceſs [o], repreſented Bacchus, diſguſted with the wretched tragedies which were performed at his feſtivals, deſcending to the infernal ſhades to bring back Euripides. On his arrival, he finds the court of Pluto filled with diſſenſions, the cauſe of which is honourable to poetry. Near the throne of that god are placed ſeveral other thrones, on which are ſeated thoſe poets who had attained to the greateſt excellence in the more noble and ſublime kinds of poetry [p], but which they are obliged to yield when men of ſuperior genius appear. Æſchylus is ſeated on the throne of tragedy, to which Euripides makes claim; and the merits of each are to be diſcuſſed. The latter is ſupported by a great number of

[k] Plin. lib. 31. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 550. Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 163. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59. Anthol. Græc. p. 273. Suid. in Εὐριπίδ.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6. Thom. Mag. Vit. Eurip.

[m] Philoch. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 20.

[n] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ij. p. 197.

[o] Argum. Ariſtoph. in Ran. p. 115, 116.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 773.



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perſons deſtitute of refinement and taſte, who have been ſeduced by the falſe ornaments of his eloquence. Sophocles declares for Æſchylus; ready to acknowledge him for his maſter, if he is victor; and, if he is vanquiſhed, to diſpute the crown with Euripides. The competitors enter the liſts; and each, armed with the ſhafts of ſatire, extols the merit of his own pieces, and depreſſes that of his rival's. Judgment is to be pronounced by Bacchus, who long continues undetermined, but at length decides in favour of Æſchylus; who, before he leaves the ſhades, earneſtly requeſts that, during his abſence, Sophocles may take his place [q].

Notwithſtanding the prejudices and hatred of Ariſtophanes againſt Euripides, his deciſion, in aſſigning the firſt place to Æſchylus, the ſecond to Sophocles, and the third to Euripides, was conformable to the opinion of the greater part of the Athenians. Without either aſſenting to or combating it, I ſhall proceed to ſtate the changes which the two latter made in the work of the former.

I have ſaid above, that Sophocles had introduced a third actor in his firſt pieces; and I ſhall not inſiſt on the new decorations with which he enriched the ſcene, and the new ſymbols which he placed in the hands of ſome of his characters [r]. He cenſured in Æſchylus three defects; the exceſſive elevation of his ideas, the gigantic ſtyle of his expreſſions, and the difficult conduct of his plots; and theſe faults he flattered himſelf he had avoided [s].

If the models which the ſtage preſents to us are too much elevated above us, the calamities they exhibit cannot excite our compaſſion, nor the examples they hold forth tend to our inſtruction. The heroes of Sophocles are at that preciſe diſtance to which our admiration and the intereſt we feel can attain. As they are raiſed above us without being at a great diſtance from us, whatever relates to them is neither too fo-

[q] Id. ibid. v. 1563.
[r] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Suid. in Σοφ. Schol. in Vit. Soph.
[s] Plut. de Profect. Virt. t. ii. p. 79.

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reign nor too familiar; and as they are ſuperior to weakneſs in the moſt dreadful reverſes of fortune [t], the reſult is a ſublime pathos, which eſpecially characterizes this poet.

He ſo much reſpected the boundaries of true grandeur, that, through fear of overſtepping, it ſometimes happens that he does not even arrive at them. In the midſt of his moſt rapid career, and at the moment when he is about univerſally to communicate his ardent flame, he is ſeen to ſtop ſhort, and to become extinct [u]. It may be affirmed, that he preferred failure to extravagance.

He was not able to dwell on the weakneſſes of the human heart, nor on ignoble crimes. He required minds of ſtrength and ſenſibility, and therefore intereſting; ſouls which might be ſhaken, but not overwhelmed nor inflated by misfortune.

By reducing heroiſm to its juſt ſtandard, Sophocles lowered the ſtyle of tragedy, and baniſhed thoſe expreſſions which a wild imagination had dictated to Æſchylus, and which diffuſed terror through the ſouls of the ſpectators. His ſtyle, like that of Homer, is full of ſtrength, magnificence, ſublimity, and mildneſs [x]. Even in depicting the moſt violent paſſions, he happily ſuits his ſtyle to the dignity of his perſonages [y].

Æſchylus painted men greater than they can be, Sophocles as they ought to be, and Euripides as they are [z]. The two former had neglected paſſions and ſituations, which the latter thought capable of producing great effects. He ſometimes repreſented princeſſes inflamed with love, and reſpiring only adultery and crimes [a]; and ſometimes kings debaſed by calamity to ſuch poverty, as to be covered with rags, and ſolicit a wretched alms [b]. Theſe ſcenes, in which no reſemblance was diſcernible of the manner of Æſchylus or Sophocles, at

[t] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. cap. 2. t. v. p. 423.
[u] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33.
[x] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 52. p. 552. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 682. Schol. Vit. Sophocl.
[y] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. cap. 2. t. v. p. 423.
[z] Ariſtot. de Poet. c. 25. t. ii. p. 673.
[a] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 874 et 1075.
[b] Id. in Nub. v. 919 Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran. v. 866 et 1095. Schol. ibid. Id. in Acharn. v. 411. Schol. ibid.



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firſt diſguſted the ſpectators. It was ſaid, that under no pretext ought the character and rank of the heroes of the ſtage to be ſo degraded; that it was highly reprehenſible to pourtray with ſo much art images ſo ſhameful, and dangerous to ſupply vice with the authority of great examples [c].

But theſe were no longer the times in which the laws of Greece inflicted a puniſhment on thoſe artiſts who did not treat their ſubject with a certain decency [d]. The minds of men became enervated, and the boundaries of propriety were enlarged from day to day. The greater part of the Athenians were leſs offended at the attacks which the pieces of Euripides made on received ideas, than hurried away by the ſentiments with which he had animated them; for this poet, capable of managing at pleaſure all the paſſions of the ſoul, is eſpecially admirable when he paints the furies of love, or excites the emotions of pity [e]: then, ſurpaſſing himſelf, he ſometimes attains the ſublime, for which he ſeems not to have been intended by nature [f]. The Athenians compaſſionated the fate of the guilty Phædra, and wept over the ſufferings of the unhappy Telephus; and their tears were a ſufficient vindication of the author.

While he was accuſed of enervating tragedy, he had propoſed to render it the ſchool of wiſdom. In his writings are found the ſyſtem of Anaxagoras, his maſter, on the origin of beings [g]; and the precepts of that morality of which Socrates, his friend, was then inveſtigating the principles. But as the Athenians had acquired a taſte for the artificial eloquence in which Prodicus had given him leſſons, he principally directed his attention to delight their ears: and thus the doctrines of philoſophy and the ornaments of rhetoric were introduced into tragedy; and this innovation ſtill more diſtinguiſhed Euripides from the writers by whom he had been preceded.

[c] Id. in Ran. v. 1082.
[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt lib. 4. cap. 4.
[e] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 632. Diog. Laert. lib. 4 § 26.
[f] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 15 et 39.
[g] Walck. Diatrib. in Euripid. cap. 4 et 5.

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In the pieces of Æſchylus and Sophocles, the paſſions, eager to arrive at their goal, deal not in maxims and reflections, which would retard their progreſs. It is eſpecially obſervable of the latter of theſe authors, that as he preſſes rapidly forwards, he frequently, almoſt without ſeeming to intend it, paints a character at a ſingle ſtroke, and diſplays the ſecret ſentiments of the perſonages he exhibits on the ſtage. Thus, in his Antigone, a word which falls, as it were by accident, from that princeſs, diſcovers her love for the ſon of Creon [h].

Euripides multiplied ſentences and reflections [i]. He made it a pleaſure or a duty to diſplay his knowledge, and frequently indulged in rhetorical forms of expreſſion [k]. Hence the different judgments that have been paſſed on this writer, and the different points of view in which he may be conſidered. As a philoſopher he had a great number of partiſans. The diſciples of Anaxagoras and thoſe of Socrates, after the example of their maſters, congratulated themſelves on ſeeing their doctrines applauded in the theatre; and though they did not pardon their new interpreter for having admitted ſome expreſſions too favourable to deſpotiſm, they [l] declared openly for a writer who inſpired the love of moral duties and of virtue; and who, extending his views ſtill farther, loudly proclaimed that the gods ought not to be accuſed of ſo many ſhameful paſſions, but thoſe men only by whom they were attributed to them [m]; and as he forcibly inſiſted on the important doctrines of morality, he was placed among the number of the ſages [n], and will for ever be regarded as the philoſopher of the ſtage [o].

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[h] Sophocl in Antig. v. 578.

[i] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 632. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 52. p. 553.

[k] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 423.

[l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 568.

[m] Euripid. in Ion. v. 442; in Hercul. Fur. v. 1345.

[n] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 283. Oracul. Delph. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 144.

[o] Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 8. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 158; lib. 13, cap. 1. p. 561. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 279.



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His eloquence, which ſometimes degenerates into a redundant profuſion of words [p], has not rendered him leſs celebrated among orators in general, and thoſe of the bar in particular. He perſuades by the warmth of his ſentiments, and convinces by the addreſs with which he introduces his anſwers and replies [q].

The beauties which the philoſophers and orators admire in his writings are abſolute faults in the eyes of his cenſurers. They maintain that ſuch a number of rhetorical phraſes, ſo many maxims and reflections, learned digreſſions, and idle diſputes [r], diminiſh the intereſt; and reduce Euripides, in this reſpect, much below Sophocles, who has ſaid nothing which has not its utility [s].

Æſchylus had preſerved in his ſtyle the bold figures of the dithyrambic, and Sophocles the magnificence of the epic poem: Euripides fixed the language of tragedy; he retained ſcarcely any expreſſions that are eſpecially approbriated to poetry [t]; but he ſo judiciouſly ſelected and employed thoſe of ordinary language, that, under their happy combination, the feebleneſs of the thought ſeemed to diſappear, and the moſt common word to become ennobled [u]. Such is the magic of that enchanting ſtyle, which, preſerving a juſt medium between meanneſs and inflation, is almoſt always elegant, clear, harmonious, flowing, and ſo flexible that it ſeems to adapt itſelf without effort to every feeling of the ſoul [x].

It was nevertheleſs with the greateſt labour that he wrote verſes ſo eaſy and natural. Like Plato, Zeuxis, and all thoſe who have aſpireed to attain to perfection, he examined his works with the ſeverity of a rival, and ſolicitouſly amended

[p] Ariſtoph. in Ran v. 1101 Plut de Audit. t. ii. p. 45

[q] Quintil. lib. 10. cap 1. p. 632 Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 52 p. 551.

[r] Id. ibid. Ariſtoph in Ran v. 787, 973, 1101.

[s] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 423.

[t] Walck. Diat. in Eurip. c 9. p. 96.

[u] Ariſtot Rhet. lib. 3. cap 2. t. ii. p. 585 Longin. de Sublim. cap. 39. p. 217

[x] Dionyſ. Halic. de Comp. Verb. cap. 23 t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 423.

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them with the tenderneſs of a father [y]. He once ſaid that three of his verſes had coſt him the labour of three days. "I could have written a hundred in that time," ſaid a contemporary poet of ordinary abilities. "I believe it," replied Euripides, "but they would have lived only three days [z]."

Sophocles admitted into his choruſes the Phrygian harmony [a], the object of which is to moderate and attemper the paſſions, and which is adapted to the worſhip of the gods [b]. Euripides, who favoured the innovations made by Timotheus in the ancient muſic [c], employed almoſt all the modes, and eſpecially thoſe, the ſweetneſs and ſoftneſs of which accorded with the genius of his poetry. The audience were aſtoniſhed to hear in the theatre effeminate tones, and ſometimes diviſions on a ſingle ſyllable [d]. The author was quickly repreſented as a feeble artiſt, who, incapable of raiſing himſelf to the ſublimity of tragedy, had depreſſed tragedy to the level of his own inferior abilities; and, by conſequence, had deprived all its parts of that weight and gravity which is eſſential to them [e]; and, by adapting airs without dignity to words deſtitute of elevation, endeavoured to ſubſtitute ornament for beauty, and artifice for ſtrength. "Let Euripides ſing," ſays Ariſtophanes; "let him take a lyre, or rather a pair of ſhells [f], for that is the only accompaniment his verſes can bear."

At preſent, no one would venture a ſimilar criticiſm; but, in the time of Ariſtophanes, many perſons, accuſtomed from their infancy to the lofty and majeſtic ſtyle of the ancient tragedy, feared to yield to the impreſſion of the novel ſounds they heard. The graces have at length relaxed the ſeverity

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y Longin. de Sublim. cap. 15 p. 108. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 52. p. 551.
z Val. Max. l. 3. c. 7. Extern. No. 1
a Ariſtox. ap. Schol. in Vit. Soph.
b Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 399.
c Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii p. 795.
d Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1336, 1349, et 1390.
e Id. ibid. v. 971.
f Id ibid. v. 1340. Didym. ap. Athen. lib. 14 cap. 4. p. 636.

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of the rules, and but a ſhort time has been requiſite to obtain them this triumph.

With reſpect to the conduct of the pieces, the ſuperior excellence of Sophocles is generally acknowledged; it may even be demonſtrated that almoſt all the laws of tragedy have been formed from his dramas: but as in point of taſte the analyſis of a good work is almoſt always a bad one, becauſe the true and regular beauties in it loſe a part of their value, it will ſuffice to ſay, in general, that this writer has avoided the eſſential faults which are objected to his rival.

Euripides rarely ſucceeded in the diſpoſition of his ſubjects [g]; ſometimes he offends againſt probability, ſometimes the incidents are forced, and ſometimes the action wants unity; almoſt always the complications and developements of his plots are in ſome reſpect imperfect; and his choruſes have frequently only an indirect relation to the action [h].

He invented the method of explaining his ſubject in a prologue, or long preface, almoſt entirely detached from the piece, in which uſually one of the perſons of the drama [i] comes forward, and frigidly details all the events antecedent or relative to the action, gives his own genealogy, or that of one of the principal characters [k], informs us of the occaſion of his deſcent from heaven, if he is a deity, or who has called him forth from the tomb, if a mortal; and announces himſelf to the ſpectators by declaring his name.—I am Mercury, ſon of Maia [l].—I am Polydorus, ſon of Hecuba [m].—I am the goddeſs Venus [n].—I am Jocaſta [o].—I am Andromache [p].—Iphigenia, appearing alone on the ſtage, thus begins her ſoliloquy [q]:

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[g] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 662. Remarq. de Dacier, p. 197.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 666. Dacier, ibid. p. 315.

[i] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 977. Corneille, 1^er^ Diſcourſe ſur le Poem Dramat. p. 25.

[k] Euripid. in Hercul. Fur.; in Phœniſſ.; in Electr. &c.

[l] Id. in Ion.

[m] Id. in Hecub.

[n] Id. in Hippol.

[o] Id. in Phœniſſ.

[p] Id. in Androm.

[q] Id. in Iphig. in Taur.

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To Piſa, by the fleeteſt courſers borne,
Comes Pelops, ſon of Tantalus, and weds
The virgin daughter of Oenomaus:
From her ſprung Atreus; Menelaus from him,
And Agamemnon; I from him derive
My birth; his Iphigenia, by his queen
Daughter of Tyndarus *. POTTER.

After this genealogy, which has been happily parodied by Ariſtophanes in one of his comedies [r], the princeſs continues to tell herſelf, that her father cauſed her to be brought to Aulis, under pretext of marrying her to Achilles, but in reality to ſacrifice her to Diana; and that this goddeſs, having put a hind in her place at the altar, conveyed her away into Tauris, where reigned a king named Thoas, a name he had received on account of his ſpeed, which might be compared to the flight of birds †. After recounting ſome other circumſtances, ſhe concludes by relating a dream by which ſhe had been terrified, and which ſhe interprets to preſage the death of Oreſtes, her brother.

In the pieces of Æſchylus and Sophocles a happy artifice elucidated the ſubject from the earlieſt ſcenes. Euripides himſelf ſeems to have ſtolen their ſecret in his Medea, and his Iphigenia in Aulis. Yet though his manner in general is deſtitute of art, it is not condemned by critics of great abilities [s]. What is more ſtrange is, that, in ſome of his prologues, as if to weaken the intereſt which he wiſhed to inſpire, he previouſly informs us of the greater part of thoſe events by which he ſhould excite our ſurpriſe [t]. We like-

* Father Brumoy, who endeavours to palliate the defects of the ancients, begins this ſcene by theſe words, which are not in Euripides: "Ah! wretched Iphigenia! muſt thy misfortunes be ever preſent to thy remembrance?"

[r] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 47.

† Euripides derives the name of Thoas from the Greek word Θοὸς, which ſignifies *ſwift of foot*. Though this etymology were as juſt as it is falſe, it muſt ſtill appear very ſtrange to meet with it here.

[s] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3, cap. 14. t. ii. p. 600.

[t] Euripid. in Hecub.; in Hippol.

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wiſe find him making ſlaves diſcourſe like philoſophers [u], and kings like ſlaves [x]. Sometimes, to pleaſe the people, he makes long digreſſions, of which his piece of The Suppliants affords a remarkable example.

Theſeus has aſſembled the Athenian army, and is waiting for the final reſolution of Creon, king of Thebes, before he marches againſt that prince. At this moment the herald of Creon arrives, and demands to ſpeak to the king of Athens. "You will ſeek him in vain," ſays Theſeus; "this is a free city, and the ſovereign power is in the hands of all the citizens." At theſe words the herald declaims ſeventeen verſes againſt the democratical form of government [y]. Theſeus grows impatient, treats him as a prolix haranguer, and employs ſeven-and-twenty lines to depict the inconveniences of the kingly power. After this miſplaced diſpute, the herald acquits himſelf of his commiſſion. It ſeems that Euripides choſe rather to give the reins to his genius than to reſtrain it by the rules of propriety; and that he was more attentive to the intereſt of philoſophy than that of his ſubject.

In the following chapter I ſhall remark other faults, ſome of which are common to him with Sophocles; but as they have not obſcured the glory of either, we ought hence to conclude that the beauties which adorn their works were of a ſuperior order. It muſt alſo be added, in favour of Euripides, that the greater part of his pieces, having a calamitous cataſtrope, produced the moſt ſtriking effect, and cauſed him to be conſidered as the moſt tragic of all dramatic poets [z].

The theatre preſented an abundant harveſt of laurels to the poets whoſe abilities it called from obſcurity. From Æſchylus to the preſent time, in the ſpace of about a century and a half, a number of authors have eagerly laboured to ſmooth or embelliſh the track which genius had recently opened. I

[u] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 980. Schol. ibid. in Acharn. v. 395 et 400. Schol. ibid. Orig. in Celſ. lib. 7. p. 356.

[x] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 675, &c.

[y] Id. in Suppl. v. 409.

[z] Ariſtot. de Poet. c. 13. t. ii. p. 662.



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ſhall leave to their productions to make them known to poſterity, and only mention ſome of thoſe whoſe ſucceſs, or vain attempts, may throw a light on the hiſtory of the art, or afford inſtruction to thoſe by whom it is cultivated.

Phrynichus, the diſciple of Theſpis, and rival of Æſchylus, introduced women's parts on the ſtage [a]. When Themiſtocles was appointed by his tribe to contribute to the repreſentations of the feſtivals, Phrynichus preſented one of his pieces, which obtained the prize, and the name of the poet was aſſociated on the marble with that of the conqueror of the Perſians [b]. His tragedy, which was entitled The taking of Miletus, had a ſtrange ſucceſs. The ſpectators melted into tears, and condemned the author to a fine of a thouſand drachmas *, for having painted in too lively colours calamities which the Athenians were unable to prevent [c].

Ion was ſo pleaſed and elated at one of his pieces having obtained the crown, that he made a preſent to each of the inhabitants of Athens of one of thoſe beautiful earthen vaſes which are fabricated in the iſle of Chios, his native country [d]. As a writer he may be cenſured for having committed no fault; his works are ſo carefully finiſhed, that the moſt rigid eye cannot diſcover a blemiſh. Yet all that he has written is not worth the Œdipus of Sophocles; becauſe, with his utmoſt efforts, he only attained to the perfection of mediocrity [e].

Agatho, the friend of Socrates and Euripides, firſt hazarded invented ſubjects [f]. His comedies are written with elegance, and his tragedies with the ſame profuſion of antitheſes and ſymmetrical ornaments as the diſcourſes of the rhetorician Gorgias [g].

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[a] Suid. in Φρύνιχ.
[b] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 114.
* 900 livres (37l. 10s.)
[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 21. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 172.
[d] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 3.
[e] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33. p 187.
[f] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 659.
[g] Ælian. lib. 14. cap. 13. Philoſtr. Vit. Soph. lib. 1. p. 493. Athen. lib. 5. p. 187.

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Philocles compoſed a great number of pieces, which are only remarkable for a bitterneſs of ſtyle that acquired him the ſurname of *The Bile* [h]. This writer, though of very ordinary abilities, gained the prize from Sophocles, in a competition in which the latter preſented his Œdipus, one of his beſt pieces, and perhaps the maſterpiece of the Grecian theatre [i]. The time will no doubt arrive, when, from reſpect to Sophocles, we ſhall not dare to ſay that he was ſuperior to Philocles [k].

Aſtydamas, the nephew of this Philocles, was ſtill more fertile than his uncle, and gained the prize fifteen times [l]. His ſon, of the ſame name, has, in my time, brought ſeveral on the ſtage. He has for competitors, Aſclepiades, Apharеus, the adopted ſon of Iſocrates, Theodectes, and ſeveral others, who would be admired had they not ſucceeded writers ſo truly admirable.

I had forgotten Dionyſius the elder, king of Syracuſe. He was aided in the compoſition of his tragedies by ſome men of genius, and was indebted to their aſſiſtance for the victory he obtained in this ſpecies of literature [m]. Fond to intoxication of his productions, he ſolicited the approbation of every perſon at his court with the meanneſs and cruelty of a tyrant. He one day requeſted Philoxenus to correct a piece which he had juſt finiſhed. The poet made one general erazure from the beginning to the end, for which he was ſent to the quaries [n]. The next day Dionyſius liberated him from his confinement, admitted him to his table; and, toward the end of the entertainment, reciting ſome of his verſes, aſked him what he thought of them: The poet made him on reply, but turning to the attendants, bid them take him back to the quaries [o].

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h Suid. in Φιλοκλ.
i Dicæarch. in Argum. Oedip.
k Ariſtid. Orat. t. iii. p. 422.
l Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 270. Suid. in Ἀγαθ.
m Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 833.
n Id. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 334.
o Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331.

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Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are, and ever will be placed at the head of thoſe who have rendered the ſtage illuſtrious [p]. Whence is it, then, that, notwithſtanding the great number of pieces they preſented in the theatrial competitions *, the firſt obtained the crown only thirteen times [q], the ſecond but eighteen [r], and the laſt only five times [s]? Becauſe the multitude decided the victory; but the public has ſince aſſigned to theſe poets the rank they merited. The multitude had patrons whoſe paſſions it eſpouſed, and favourites whoſe intereſts it ſupported. Hence ſo many intrigues and enmities which broke forth in acts of violence and injuſtice in the moment of deciſion. On the other hand, the public, that is to ſay, the moſt intelligent part of the people, ſometimes ſuffered itſelf to be dazzled by ſlight beauties ſcattered through works that do not riſe above mediocrity; but it was not long before it reſtored men of real genius to the ſtation they merited, when convinced of their ſuperiority by the vain attempts of their rivals and ſucceſſors.

Though comedy had the ſame origin with tragedy, its hiſtory, leſs known, points out to us revolutions of the circumſtances of which we are ignorant, and improvements of which we no longer know the authors.

Invented towards the fiftieth Olympiad †, and adapted to the rude manners of the ruſtics, comedy ventured not to approach the capital; and if by chance ſome companies of actors, who were unconnected with any others, found their way into the city, and performed their indecent farces, they were leſs authoriſed than tolerated by the government [t]. It was not till after a long infancy that this ſpecies of drama began ſuddenly to make a rapid improvement in Sicily [u]. Inſtead

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[p] Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 841. Ariſtid. Orat. t. iii. p. 703. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 682. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. i. p. 286.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[q] Anonym. in Vit. Æſchyl.

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 222.

[s] Suid. in Εὐριπίδ. Varr. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 4.

† Towards the year 580 before Chriſt.

[t] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 654. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. p. 485.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 5. Horat. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. v. 58.

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of a ſucceſſion of ſcenes without connection or tendency, he philoſopher Epicharmus introduced an action all the parts of which had a dependance on each other; and conducted his ſubject, without wandering from it, through a juſt extent, to a determinate end. His pieces, ſubjected to the ſame laws as tragedy, were known in Greece, where they were conſidered as models [x]; and comedy ſoon ſhared with her rival the ſuffrages of the public, and the homage due to genius. The Athenians, eſpecially, received her with the ſame tranſports as they would have teſtified at the news of a victory: many of their poets exerciſed their genius in this novel ſpecies of compoſition; and their names adorn the numerous liſt of writers who have been diſtinguiſhed in comedy from Epicharmus to the preſent time. Such were, among the more ancient, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Eupolis, and Ariſtophanes, who died about thirty years before my arrival in Greece. They all flouriſhed in the age of Pericles.

Some keenly ſatirical pleaſantries at firſt procured to Magnes the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. He afterwards became more diſcreet and moderate, and his pieces were condemned [y].

Cratinus ſucceeded leſs in the diſpoſition of the fable than the pourtraying of vices. With the ſeverity of Archilochus, and the energy of Æſchylus, he attacked individuals, without moderation and without pity [z].

Crates was diſtinguiſhed by the livelineſs of his ſallies [a], and Pherecrates by the artifice of his [b]. Both were happy in invention, and abſtained from perſonalities [c].

Eupolis returned to the manner of Cratinus, but he poſſeſſed more elevation and amenity than that writer. Ariſtophanes, with leſs gall than Cratinus, and fewer graces than Eu-

[x] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152.
[y] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 522.
[z] Plat. in Argum. Ariſtoph. p. xi. Schol de Comœd. ibid. p. xii. et in Equit. v. 534.
[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. Comœd. p. xii.
[b] Athen. lib. 6. p. 268.
[c] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 5. p. 654. Argum. Ariſtoph. p. xii.

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polis, frequently tempered the bitterneſs of the former with the elegance of the latter [d].

If we refer to the titles of the pieces which have come down to us from the time of theſe authors, we ſhall find it difficult to conceive what idea they entertained of comedy. The following are ſome of them: Prometheus [e], Triptolemus [f], Bacchus [g], the Bacchantes [h], the Fictitious Hercules [i], the Marriage of Hebe [k], the Danaides [l], Niobe [m], Amphiaraus [n], the Shipwreck [o], the Golden Age [p], the Wild Men [q], Heaven [r], the Seaſons [s], the Earth and Sea [t], the Storks [u], the Birds, the Bees, the Frogs, the Clouds [x], the She Goats [y], the Laws [z], the Painters [a], the Pythagoreans [b], the Deſerters [c], the Friends [d], the Flatterers [e], the Effeminate [f].

If we peruſe theſe pieces, we ſhall be convinced that the ſole object of their authors was to pleaſe the multitude; and that to attain this end they conſidered all means as indifferent, and employed by turns, parody, allegory, and ſatire abounding in images and language the moſt groſs and obſcene. They treated the ſame ſubjects with the tragic writers, though they exhibited them in different colours. The Niobe of Euripides drew tears from the ſpectators, and that of Ariſtophanes excited their laughter. The gods and heroes were traveſtied, and the ridiculous was produced by the contraſt between their diſguiſe and their dignity. Different pieces bore the names of Bacchus and Hercules, and, by parodying their characters,

[d] Platonius in Argum. Ariſtoph. p. xl
[e] Epicharm. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 86.
[f] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 2. p. 67.
[g] Ariſtom. ibid. lib. 14. p. 658.
[h] Epicharm. ibid. lib. 3. p. 106.
[i] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 122
[k] Epicharm. ibid. p. 85, &c.
[l] Ariſtoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 57, &c.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 301.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 158.
[o] Epicharm. ibid lib. 14. p. 619.
[p] Eupol. ibid. lib 9. p. 375.
[q] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 5. p. 218.
[r] Amphiſ. ibid. lib. 3. p. 100.
[s] Cratin. ibid. lib. 9. p. 374. Ariſtoph. ibid. lib. 14. p. 652.
[t] Epicharm. ibid. lib. 3. p. 120.
[u] Ariſtoph. ibid. lib. 9. p. 368.
[x] Id.
[y] Eupol. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 94.
[z] Cratin. ibid. lib. 11. p. 496.
[a] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 9 p. 395.
[b] Ariſtoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 161.
[c] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 3. p. 90.
[d] Eupol. ibid. lib. 6. p. 266.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 328.
[f] Cratin. ibid. lib. 14. p. 638.



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expoſed to the laughter of the populace the exceſſive poltroonery of the former, and the enormous voracity of the latter [g]; to aſſuage whoſe hunger, Epicharmus particularly deſcribes, and repreſents as ſerved up to him, all the different ſpecies of fiſh and ſhell-fiſh known in his time [h].

The ſame turn of pleaſantry obtains in the allegorical ſubjects, ſuch as *the Golden Age*, the advantages of which are extolled [i]. In that happy age, ſaid ſome, there was no need for ſlaves or workmen; the rivers rolled a delicious and nouriſhing liquid, torrents of wine fell from heaven in the form of rain; and man, ſeated beneath trees loaded with fruits, beheld birds ready dreſſed and ſeaſoned flying around him, and requeſting him to feaſt on them [k]. That time, ſaid another of theſe writers, ſhall return, when, at my command, the table ſhall ſpread itſelf with delicacies, the bottle pour me out wine, and the fiſh, half-roaſted, turn on the other ſide and ſprinkle himſelf with ſome drops of oil [l].

Images of this kind were addreſſed to that claſs of citizens, who, unable to obtain the luxuries of life, were pleaſed with the idea that they had not always been nor ſhould always continue to be denied them. It was alſo to obtain the favour of the ſame part of the audience that the moſt celebrated authors ſometimes furniſhed their actors with indecent dreſſes, geſtures, and expreſſions, and ſometimes put in their mouths virulent invectives againſt individuals.

We have already ſeen that ſome comic writers, treating a ſubject generally, abſtained from perſonalities; but others were ſo unjuſt as to make no diſtinction between errors and vices, and to cover merit with ridicule. Spies in ſociety, and ſlanderous informers on the ſtage, they delivered over the moſt illuſtrious reputations to the malignity of the multitude; and fortunes whether well or ill acquired to its jealouſy. No ci-

[g] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 740. Schol. ibid.

[h] Epicharm. in Nupt. Heb. ap. Athen. l. 3. p. 85; l. 7. p. 313, 318, &c.

[i] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 267. Eupol ibid. lib. 9. p. 375, 408, &c.

[k] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 6. p. 268 et 269.

[l] Cratin. ibid. p. 267.

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tizen was so exalted, nor any so contemptible, as to be secure from their attacks, which were sometimes made by allusions easy to be understood, but more frequently by expressly naming the person, and pourtraying his features on the mask of the actor. A piece is extant in which Timocreon represented both Themistocles and Simonides [m]; and we have also several written against a lamp-maker, named Hyperbolus, who by his intrigues had raised himself to the offices of magistracy [n].

The authors of these satires had recourse to falsehood to gratify their private enmity, and to the most illiberal abuse to please the lower classes of the audience. They hastened to diffuse their poison among all ranks of citizens, and ransacked the secrets of every family, to expose to light concealed vices and crimes [o]. At other times they gave vent to their spleen against the philosophers, the tragic poets, or their own rivals.

As the former only treated them with contempt, the comic writers endeavoured to render them suspected by the government, and ridiculous in the eyes of the multitude. Thus was it that, in the person of Socrates, virtue was more than once made the victim on the stage [p]; and hence Aristophanes, in one of his pieces, has given us a burlesque parody of the plan of a perfect republic, as conceived by Protagoras and Plato [q].

At the same time comedy cited before her tribunal all those who devoted their talents to tragedy, sometimes exposing with asperity the defects of their persons or their works, and sometimes parodying, with keen ridicule, their verses, thoughts and sentiments [r]. Euripides was all his life persecuted by Aristophanes; and the same spectators crowned the pieces of the former, and the burlesque critiques made on them by the latter.

[m] Suid. in Τιμοκρ.
[n] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 552.
[o] Id. in Equit. v. 1271. Horat. lib. 2. epist. 1. v. 150.
[p] Id. in Nub. Ameipsi. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 28. Eupol. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 96. Senec. de Vitâ Beatâ, cap. 27.
[q] Schol. Aristoph. in Argum. Concion. p. 440. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 29.
[r] Aristoph in Acharn. v. 8. Schol. ibid. Id. in Vesp. v. 312. Schol. ibid. Id. in Equit. v. 1246. Schol. ibid. &c. &c. Suid. in Πλατων.



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The jealouſy between thoſe who ran the ſame courſe, at length burſt forth with ſtill greater violence. Ariſtophanes had reproached Cratinus with his love of wine, the failure of his wit, and other defects incident to old age [s]; and Cratinus, in revenge, expoſed the plagiariſms of his enemy, and accuſed him of having adorned his works with the ſpoils of Eupolis [t].

Amid theſe conteſts ſo ſhameful to literature, Cratinus conceived, and Ariſtophanes executed, the project of extending the empire of comedy. The latter having been accuſed by Cleon of aſſuming the title of citizen without poſſeſſing a legal right to it [u], in his defence parodied two verſes which Homer has put in the mouth of Telemachus, and of which this is the ſenſe: "I am, as my mother tells me, the ſon of Philip: for my part, I know little of the matter; for what child knows his own father [x]?" This ſtroke of pleaſantry having induced his judges to confirm him in his privileges as a citizen, he breathed nothing but vengeance. Animated, as he himſelf ſays, with the courage of Hercules [y], he compoſed againſt Cleon a piece abounding with the bittereſt ſarcaſms [z]: but as no workman could be found who would undertake to make a maſk to repreſent the features of a man ſo formidable, nor any actor who would venture to perform the part, the poet was obliged to act it himſelf, with his face ſmeared with wine lees [a], and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the multitude approve with loud burſts of applauſe the ridicule and invectives with which he attacked a leader whom they adored, and the keen ſatire that he levelled at themſelves.

Emboldened by this ſucceſs, he proceeded, in allegorical ſubjects, to treat on the moſt important intereſts of the republic. Sometimes he ſhowed the neceſſity of ending a long and ruinous war [b], and ſometimes inveighed againſt the corrup-

[s] Id. in Equit. v. 399. Suid. in Αφίλ.
[t] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 528.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 378. Schol. ibid. et in vita Ariſtoph. p. xiv.
[x] Brumoi, Theatr. des Grecs, t. v. p. 267.
[y] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 751. Schol. ibid.
[z] Id. in Equit.
[a] Vit. Ariſtoph. p. xiii. Schol. in Argum. Equit. p. 172.
[b] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. et in Pace.

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tion of the demagogues, the diſſenſions of the ſenate, and the folly of the people in their elections and deliberations. Two excellent actors, Calliſtratus and Philonides, performed in his comedies. When the firſt appeared, it was underſtood that the comedy turned only on the vices of individuals, and when the ſecond acted, that the piece attacked the leaders of the adminiſtration [c].

The moſt intelligent part of the public, however, greatly diſapproved of, and ſometimes oppoſed with ſucceſs, theſe licentious attacks. By one decree, the acting of comedy was prohibited [d]; by a ſecond it was forbidden to mention any perſon by name [e]; and, by a third, to attack the magiſtrates [f]. But theſe decrees were ſoon either forgotten or repealed; they ſeemed repugnant to the nature of the government; and, beſides, the multitude could not conſent to relinquiſh a ſpecies of entertainment in which all the abuſive and obſcene expreſſions their language afforded were laviſhed on the objects of their jealouſy.

Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, a ſmall number of citizens having ſeized on the ſupreme power, their firſt care was to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the poets, and to permit the perſon they had attacked to proſecute them in a court of juſtice [g]. The terror which theſe powerful men inſpired, produced a ſudden revolution in comedy. The chorus was laid aſide, becauſe the rich citizens were alarmed, and would no longer conſent to furniſh one at their expence, or to provide maſks with portraits, and thus contribute to the ſupport of ſatire againſt individuals, and invectives againſt the leaders of the ſtate. Ariſtophanes himſelf ſubmitted to this reformation in his latter pieces [h]; and his ſucceſſors, ſuch as Eubulus, Antiphanes, and ſeveral others, paid reſpect to the

[c] Schol. in Vit. Ariſtoph. p. xiv.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 67.
[e] Id. ibid. v. 1149. et in Av. v. 1297.
[f] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 31. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 79.
[g] Plat. in Argum. Ariſtoph. p. 10.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Plut. in Cocal. et in Æolos Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 718 et 713.



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rules of propriety and decency. The fate of Anaxandrides taught them not to depart from them. He had parodied theſe words of Euripides: "Nature iſſues her commands, and regards little the laws by which they are contradicted." For the word *nature* he ſubſtituted *the city*, and was ſentenced to periſh with hunger [1].

In this ſtate was comedy during my ſtay in Greece. Some poets continued to treat and parody the ſubjects of fable and hiſtory: but the greater part preferred invented ſubjects; and the ſame ſpirit of obſervation and analyſis which inclined the philoſophers to collect in ſociety the ſcattered traits, the union of which characterizes greatneſs of ſoul, or puſillanimity, engaged the poets to paint, generally, the ſingularities which are offenſive, or the actions which are diſhonourable in ſociety.

Comedy had become a regular art, ſince the philoſophers had been able to define it. They ſaid that it is an imitation, not of every kind of vice, but of the ridiculous only [k]; and they alſo ſaid that, after the example of tragedy, it may be permitted to exaggerate its characters, to render them more ſtriking [l].

When the chorus was again employed [m], which rarely happened, interludes were, as formerly, admitted between the ſcenes, and the declamation was accompanied by the choral chant or ſong; but when it was omitted, the action had greater probability, and a more rapid progreſs; the comic writers ſpoke a language which could not offend the delicate ear; and extravagant ſubjects no longer brought on the ſtage choruſes of birds, waſps, and other animals, habited in a groteſque reſemblance to the forms of thoſe creatures. New diſcoveries were every day made in human nature, and nothing

i Barnes ad Phœniſſ. v. 396. Id. in Vit. Euripid p. xxi.

k Ariſtot. de Poet. c. 5. t. ii. p. 655.

l Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 653.

m Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 653. Theophr. Charact. cap. 6.

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was wanting but a genius who might profit by the errors of the ancients, and the obſervations of the moderns *.

After having traced the progreſs of tragedy and comedy, it remains for me to ſpeak of a ſpecies of drama which unites the pleaſantry of the latter to the gravity of the former [n]. This, in like manner, derives its origin from the feſtivals of Bacchus, in which choruſes of Sileni and Satyrs intermingled jeſts and raillery with the hymns which they ſang in honour of that god.

The ſucceſs they met with gave the firſt idea of the ſatyric drama, a kind of poem in which the moſt ſerious ſubjects are treated in a manner at once affecting and comic [o].

It is diſtinguiſhed from tragedy by the kind of perſonages which it admits; by the cataſtrophe, which is never calamitous; and by the ſtrokes of pleaſantry, bon-mots, and buffooneries, which conſtitute its principal merit. It differs from comedy by the nature of the ſubject, by the air of dignity which reigns in ſome of the ſcenes [p], and the attention with which it avoids all perſonalities. It is diſtinct from both the tragic and comic dramas by certain rhythmi which are peculiar to it [q], by the ſimplicity of its fable, and by the limits preſcribed to the duration of the action [r]; for the ſatyr is a kind of entertainment which is performed after the tragedies, as a relaxation to the ſpectators [s].

The ſcene preſents to view, groves, mountains, grottos, and landſcapes of every kind [t]. The perſonages of the chorus, diſguiſed under the groteſque forms attributed to the ſatyrs, ſometimes execute lively dances with frequent leaps [u], and ſometimes diſcourſe in dialogue, or ſing, with the gods or he-

* Menander was born in one of the latter years of the ſtay of Anacharſis in Greece.

[n] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 222.

[o] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 170.

[p] Euripid. in Cyclop.

[q] Mar. Victorin. Art. Gram. lib. 2. p. 2527. Caſaub. de Satyr. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 96.

[r] Euripid. ibid.

[s] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 220. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. p. 488. Mar. Victorin. ibid.

[t] Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[u] Athen. lib. 14. p. 630.



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roes [x]; and from the diverſity of thoughts, ſentiments, and expreſſions, reſults a ſtriking and ſingular contraſt.

Æſchylus has ſucceeded better than any other author in this ſpecies of compoſition. Sophocles and Euripides have alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it, but not ſo eminently as the poets Achæus [y] and Hegemon. The latter added a new charm to the ſatyric drama, by parodying, ſcene by ſcene, ſeveral well known tragedies [z]. The artifice and neatneſs with which he executed theſe parodies rendered his pieces greatly applauded, and frequently procured them the crown [a]. During the repreſentation of his Gigantomachia, and while the whole audience were in a violent fit of laughter, news arrived of the defeat of the army in Sicily. Hegemon propoſed to break off the piece abruptly; but the Athenians, without removing from their places, covered themſelves with their cloaks, and, after having paid the tribute of a few tears to their relatives who had fallen in battle, liſtened, with the ſame attention as before, to the remainder of the entertainment. They afterwards alleged that they were unwilling to ſhow any ſigns of weakneſs, or teſtify their grief in the preſence of the ſtrangers who were ſpectators of the performance [b].

## CHAP. LXX.

### *Repreſentation of the Pieces.*

THE theatre was at firſt built with wood [c]; but having fallen down during the performance of a piece by an ancient author named Pratinas [d], that which is ſtill ſtanding, near

[x] Caſaub. ibid. lib. 1. c 4. p. 102.

[y] Mened. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 133.

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell Lettr. t. vii. p. 404. Heſych. in Παρωδ.

[a] Athen. lib. 15. p. 699.

[b] Athen. lib. 9. p. 407. Caſaub. in Athen. p. 438.

[c] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 402. Schol. ibid. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἰκρία in Αἰγίαρ, &c.

[d] Suid. in Πρατίν.



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T. Cook. fc.

the ſouth-eaſt corner of the citadel, was erected of ſtone. If I ſhould undertake to deſcribe it, I ſhould neither ſatisfy thoſe who have ſeen it nor thoſe who have not; I ſhall therefore only give a plan of it *, and add ſome remarks to what I have already ſaid concerning the repreſentation of dramatic pieces, in one of my preceding chapters †.

1ſt, During this repreſentation no perſon is permitted to remain in the *celon*, or pit [c], experience having ſhown that, unleſs this be entirely empty, the voice of the actors will be leſs diſtinctly heard [f].

2d, The *proſcenium*, or ſtage, is divided into two parts; the one higher, on which the actors declaim, and the other lower, in which the chorus commonly is placed [g]. This latter is raiſed ten or twelve feet above the pit [h], from which there is an aſcent to it [i]. In this ſituation it is eaſy for the chorus to turn either towards the actors or towards the ſpectators [k].

3d, As the theatre is not covered, it ſometimes happens that a ſudden ſhower obliges the ſpectators to take refuge in the porticos, or the public buildings near the place [l].

4th, In the ſpacious incloſure of the theatre are exhibited the conteſts in poetry, muſic, and dancing, with which the grand ſolemnities are accompanied. It is conſecrated to glory; yet have we ſeen, on the ſame day, a piece of Euripides followed by an exhibition of puppets [m].

Tragedies and comedies are only preſented to the public during the three feſtivals ſolemnized in honour of Bacchus [n]. The firſt of theſe is celebrated at the Piræus, and there it

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* See the plan of a Greek theatre.

† See chap. xi. of this work.

[c] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 6 et 8.

[f] Ariſtot. Probl. ſect. 11. § 25. t. ii. p. 739. Plin. lib. 11. cap. 51. t. i. p. 643.

[g] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 123.

[h] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 91.

[i] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 194. Plut. in Demetr. t. i. p. 905. Poll. ibid. § 127.

[k] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Argum. Nub. p. 50.

[l] Vitruv. ibid. cap. 9. p. 92.

[m] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 19. Caſaub. ibid.

[n] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604.

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was that ſome of the pieces of Euripides were performed for the firſt time [o].

The ſecond, named *the Choes*, or *the Lenæans*, falls on the 12th of the month Antheſterion *, and laſts only one day [p]. As the inhabitants of Attica alone are permitted to be preſent at the celebration of this feſtival [q], authors reſerve their new pieces for the greater Dionyſia, which are ſolemnized a month after; and which attract from all parts an infinite number of ſpectators. They commence on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion †, and continue ſeveral days, during which the pieces intended for competition are repreſented [r].

The victory formerly required greater efforts than it does at preſent. An author oppoſed his antagoniſt with three tragedies, and one of thoſe entertainments which are named ſatyrs. With this great force were thoſe famous conteſts decided in which Pratinas gained the prize againſt Æſchylus and againſt Chœrilus [s]; Sophocles againſt Æſchylus [t]; Philocles againſt Sophocles [u]; Euphorion againſt Sophocles, and againſt Euripides [x]; the latter againſt Iophon, and againſt Ion [y]; and Xenocles againſt Euripides [z].

It is aſſerted by ſome, that, according to the number of competitors, the authors of tragedies, ſubjected at that time to the ſame reſtriction as orators are at preſent, were obliged to regulate the duration of their pieces by the ſucceſſive fall of drops of water which eſcaped from an inſtrument called the Clepſydra [a]. However this may be, Sophocles, wearied with producing ſo many pieces, adventured to preſent only one [b];

[o] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 13.

* This month ſometimes began on one of the laſt days of January, but uſually on one of the firſt of February. (Dodwel. de Cycl.)

[p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p 174.

[q] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 503.

† The beginning of this month rarely happened on one of the latter days of February, but commonly on one of the firſt of March. (Dodwel. de Cycl.)

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 178.

[s] Suid. in Πρατίν.

[t] Plut. in Cim. t. ip. 483.

[u] Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Argum. Oedip. Tyr. Ariſtid. Orat. t. iii. p. 422.

[x] Argum. Med. Euripid. p. 74.

[y] Argum. Hippol. Euripid. p 216

[z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 8.

[a] Ariſtot. de Poet. c. 7. t. ii. p. 658.

[b] Suid. in Σοφοκλ.

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and this practice, which had always been usual with regard to comedy, was insensibly established with respect to tragedy.

In the festivals which last only one day, five or six dramatic pieces, either tragedies or comedies, are performed. But in the greater Dionysia, which continue longer, twelve or fifteen, and sometimes more [c], are acted. The performance begins early in the morning [d], and sometimes lasts the whole day.

The pieces are first presented to the principal archon, to whom it appertains to receive or reject them. Authors of mean abilities humbly solicit his protection. They are transported with joy when he is favourable to them [e]; and, when he refuses to receive their pieces, console themselves by writing epigrams against him; or still better by the example of Sophocles, who was excluded from a competition to which the presiding archon did not blush to admit one of the most indifferent poets of his time [f].

The crown is not bestowed at the pleasure of a tumultuous assembly. The magistrate who presides at the festivals causes a small number of judges * to be drawn by lot, who engage by an oath to decide impartially [g]. This is the moment in which the partisans, and enemies of an author are most active. Sometimes indeed the multitude, excited by their intrigues, previously declare their choice, furiously oppose the creation of the new tribunal, or compel the judges to acquiesce in their decision [h].

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[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 182.

[d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 825. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440.

[e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 94. Sch. ibid.

[f] Hesych. in Πυθέας. Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 9. p. 638. Casaub. in Athen. p. 573.

* I have not been able to fix the number of these judges. I have sometimes reckoned five, sometimes seven, and at other times more.

[g] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483. Epicharm. ap. Zenod. Erasm. Adag. p. 539. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 445. Lucian. in Harmonid. cap. 2. t. i. p. 853.

[h] Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 13.

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Beſides the name of the victor, the names of the two competitors who are judged to have approached neareſt to him, are proclaimed [l]; while he himſelf, loaded with the applauſes which he has received at the theatre, and which the chorus had ſolicited for him at the end of the piece [k], is frequently accompanied home by a part of the ſpectators [l], and uſually he gives an entertainment to his friends [m].

After the victory, the ſame piece can no more be admitted to the competition; nor may it after a defeat, without undergoing conſiderable alterations [n]. But, notwithſtanding this regulation, an ancient decree of the people permits any poet to aſpire to the crown with one of the pieces of Æſchylus, retouched and corrected as he ſhall judge proper; and this method has often ſucceeded [o]. Ariſtophanes thus obtained the honour of preſenting to the competition a piece already crowned [p]. Afterwards the ſame privilege was extended to the pieces of Sophocles and Euripides [q]; but as their ſuperiority became every day more ſenſible, and prevented many from offering pieces at the competitions, the orator Lycurgus, at the time of my departure from Athens, intended to propoſe to the people to forbid their repreſentation for the future; but to preſerve accurate copies of them in ſome place of ſafety, to cauſe them annually to be recited in public, and to erect ſtatues to their authors [r].

The actors in theſe dramas are to be diſtinguiſhed into two kinds; thoſe whoſe parts immediately follow the thread of the action, and thoſe who compoſe the chorus. That I may explain more clearly their reſpective functions, I ſhall proceed to give an idea of the diviſion of the pieces.

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[i] Schol. in Vit. Sophocl. Argum. Comœd. Ariſtoph.

[k] Euripid. Oreſt. Phœniſſ. Iphig. in Taur.

[l] Plut. an Seni, t. ii. p. 785.

[m] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 173, 174.

[n] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 546. Schol. in Argum.

[o] Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 632. Philoſtr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 245. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 10.

[p] Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Arg. Ran. p. 115.

[q] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 331, Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.

[r] Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 841.

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Beſides the parts that conſtitute the eſſence of a drama, which are, the fable, the manners, the diction, the ſentiments, the muſic, and the decoration [s], we muſt alſo conſider thoſe into which it is diſtributed in its extent, and which are, the prologue, the epiſode, the exode, and the chorus [t].

The prologue begins with the piece, and concludes with the firſt interlude, or choral ode, between the acts. The epiſode extends in general from the firſt to the laſt of the interludes, and the exode comprehends all that is ſaid after the laſt interlude [u]. In the firſt of theſe parts it is that the expoſition of the ſubject has place, and the knot or complication of the intrigue ſometimes commences; the action is developed in the ſecond, and finally unravelled in the third. Theſe three parts have no fixed proportion in their reſpective lengths. In the Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles, which contains 1862 verſes, the prologue alone contains 700 [x].

The ſtage is never empty. The chorus ſometimes makes its entry in the firſt ſcene; if it comes on later, it muſt be naturally introduced; and if it goes off, it is only for a few moments, and for a ſufficient reaſon.

The action preſents only a ſeries of ſcenes divided by interludes, the number of which is left to the choice of the poet. Of theſe many pieces have four [y], and others five [z] or ſix [a]. I find alſo three in the Hecuba of Euripides [b], and in the Electra of Sophocles [c]; but two in the Oreſtes of the former poet [d]; and one only in the Philoctetes of the latter [e]. The intervals between two interludes are alſo of various lengths; ſome have only one ſcene, and others contain ſeveral. It is manifeſt from theſe obſervations, that the diviſion of a

[s] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. p. 656.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 669. Schol. Vet. Ariſtoph. p. xiv.
[u] Id. ibid.
[x] Plut. an Seni, t. ii. p. 785.
[y] Euripid. in Hippol.
[z] Id. in Phœniſſ. v. 210, 641, 791, 1026 et 1290. Id. in Med. v. 410, 627, 824, 976, et 1251. Id. in Alceſt.
[a] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 100, 338, 588, 792, 956, et 1127.
[b] Euripid. in Hecub. v. 444, 629, et 905.
[c] Soph. in Electr. v. 474, 1064, et 1400.
[d] Euripid. in Oreſt. v. 316, et 805.
[e] Soph. in Philoct. v. 686.

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piece, and the distribution of its parts, depend entirely on the will of the poet.

What properly characterizes the interlude, is, when the choral performers are considered as alone, and sing altogether [f]. If by any accident, at these times, one of the characters of the preceding scene should remain on the stage with them, they do not address him, or at least require from him no answer.

The chorus, according as the subject demands, is composed of men and women, old men or youths, citizens or slaves, priests, soldiers, &c. to the number of fifteen, in tragedy, and twenty-four in comedy [g]; and the persons of it are always supposed of inferior condition to the principal characters of the piece. As it usually represents the people, or at least a part of them, foreigners, even though settled at Athens, are forbidden to act in the choruses [h], for the same reason as they are prohibited from being present in the general assembly of the people.

The actors who compose the chorus come on the stage preceded by a flute-player, who regulates their steps [i], sometimes one after the other, but more frequently, in tragedy, three in front and five in depth, or five in front and three in depth. When the piece is a comedy, they are usually arranged four in front and six deep, or six in front and four deep [k].

In the course of the piece the chorus sometimes performs the part of an actor, and sometimes forms the interlude. In the first case it takes a part in the action, and sings or declaims with the persons of the drama, the coryphæus speaking for it *. On certain occasions it is divided into two parts, headed by two leaders, who relate certain circumstances of the action, or mutually communicate their hopes and fears [l]. These

[f] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 12. p. 661.
[g] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 108. Schol. in Acharn. Aristoph. v. 210; in Av. v. 298.
[h] Demosth. in Mid. p. 612. Ulpian. ibid. p. 653. Plut. in Phocion. t. i. p. 755.
[i] Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 580.
[k] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 109.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[l] Æschyl in Sept. cont. Theb. v. 875. Rhes. ap. Euripid. v. 538 et 692. Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 586. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 106.

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kind of ſcenes, which are almoſt always ſung, are ſometimes concluded by the re-union of the two parts of the chorus [m]. In the ſecond caſe, the chorus confines itſelf to lamenting the calamites incident to humanity, or imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods for the dramatic perſonage whoſe cauſe it eſpouſes.

During theſe ſcenes the chorus rarely quits its place. In the interludes, and eſpecially in the firſt, it executes different evolutions to the ſound of the flute. The verſes which it ſings are, like thoſe of the ode, diſpoſed in ſtrophes, antiſtrophes, epods, &c. Each antiſtrophe correſponds to a ſtrophe, either in the meaſure and number of the verſes, or the nature of the chant. The choral performers, at the firſt ſtrophe, go from right to left; at the firſt antiſtrophe, from left to right, in an equal time, and repeating the ſame air to other words [n]. They afterwards ſtop, and, turning towards the ſpectators, ſing a new melody. Frequently they repeat the ſame evolutions with ſenſible differences in the words and muſic, but always with the ſame correſpondence between the march and the counter-march. I here only mention the general practice; for it is principally in this part of the drama that the poet aims to diſplay the varieties of rhythmus and melody.

Each tragedy requires three actors for the three leading parts. The principal archon cauſes them to be drawn by lot, and aſſigns to them, in conſequence, the piece in which they are to perform. The author is not allowed the privilege to chooſe them, except when he has merited the crown in one of the preceding feſtivals [o].

The ſame actors ſometimes perform both in tragedy and comedy [p], but we rarely meet with any who excel in both [q]. It is not neceſſary to mention that ſome have always acquitted themſelves with great applauſe in the firſt parts, while others have not been able to riſe above thoſe of the third or-

[m] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 877.
[n] Argum. Schol. in Pind. Etymol. Magn. in Περῳδὸς.
[o] Heſych. et Suid. in Νίμησ. Valeſ. in Mauſſac. p. 117.
[p] Ulpian. in Demoſth. p. 653.
[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 395.



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der [r]; and that there are parts which require extraordinary bodily powers, as that of Ajax frantic [s]. Some actors, to acquire greater vigour and ſuppleneſs of body, frequent the palæſtræ, where they exerciſe with the youthful athletæ [t]; others, to render their voices more ductile and ſonorous, carefully obſerve a ſtrict regimen [u].

Conſiderable pay is given to actors who have acquired great celebrity; I have known Polus gain a talent in two days [x *]. Their ſalary is regulated according to the number of pieces in which they act. As ſoon as they have attained to diſtinction on the Athenian ſtage, they are applied to by the different cities of Greece, and ſolicited to contribute to the embelliſhment of their feſtivals. If they fail to perform the engagements they have ſigned, they are obliged to pay a ſum of money ſtipulated in the agreement [y]. On the other hand, the republic condemns them to a heavy fine if they are abſent at the time of the celebration of its feſtivals [z].

The principal actor ſhould be conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed from the two others, and eſpecially the third, who receives his pay from him [a]; ſo that theſe, even though they ſhould have the fineſt voices, ought ſo to manage them as not to eclipſe his [b]. Theodorus, who in my time always played the principal part, never permitted the two ſubaltern actors to ſpeak before him, and prepoſſeſs the audience in their favour [c]. It was only when he aſſigned to the third actor a principal part, as that of the king [d], that he conſented to forget his pre-eminence [e].

Tragedy ſeldom employs in the ſcenes any other verſe than the iambic; a ſpecies of meaſure which nature ſeems to point

[r] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 331.
[s] Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 875.
[t] Cicer. Orat. cap. 4. t. i. p. 423.
[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 665.
[x] Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 848.
[*] 5400 livres (225l.)
[y] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 398.
[z] Plat. in Alex. t. i. p. 681.
[a] Plut. Præc. Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 816.
[b] Cicer. de Divin. cap. 15. t. iv. p. 125.
[c] Ariſtot de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 449.
[d] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 331.
[e] Plut. Præc. Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 816.

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ent, by frequently producing it in converſation [f]; but, in the choruſes, it admits the greater part of thoſe metrical forms which enrich lyric poetry. The attention of the ſpectator, inceſſantly awakened by this variety of rhythms, is not leſs engaged by the diverſity of ſounds annexed to the words, of which ſome are ſung, and others ſimply recited [g].

The chorus ſings in the interludes [h], and the actors declaim in the ſcenes [i] when the chorus is ſilent; but when it enters into dialogue with the actors, its coryphæus recites with them, or they ſing alternately with the chorus [k].

The voice of the performers in ſinging is guided by the flute, and in declamation by a lyre, which prevents it from ſinking [l], and ſucceſſively gives it the fourth, the fifth, and the octave *, which in fact are the conſonances the voice moſt frequently produces in converſation, whether continued or familiar †. Though ſubjected to a proper intonation, it is freed from the rigid laws of the meaſure [m]; an actor, therefore, may accelerate or retard his declamation.

With reſpect to the ſinging, all the rules of it were formerly rigorouſly obſerved; but at preſent thoſe which relate to the accents and quantity are tranſgreſſed with impunity [n]. To enforce the obſervance of the others, the maſter of the chorus [o], in the abſence of the poet, exerciſes the actors for a long time before the repreſentation of the piece. He beats the meaſure with his feet, his hands, or by other means [p] which may give the movement to the performers in the chorus, who are attentive to all his geſtures [q].

[f] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 81.

[g] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656.

[h] Id. Probl. t. ii. p. 766 et 770.

[i] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 253.

[k] Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 1162 et 1185. Lucian. de Salt. § 27. t. ii. p. 285. Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 11. t. v. p. 63.

[l] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141.

* I imagine this to have been what is called the lyre of Mercury. See Memoire ſur la Muſique des Anciens, par M. l'Abbé Rouſſier, p. 11.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 656. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1137.

[n] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. § 11. t. ii. p. 63.

[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 812. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 612.

[p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 160.

[q] Ariſtot. Probl. § 22. t. ii. p. 769.



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The chorus more eaſily obeys the meaſure than the ſingle voices; but it is never made to ſing in certain modes, the enthuſiaſtic character of which is not ſuitable to the ſimple and tranquil manners of the perſons it repreſents [r]: theſe modes are reſerved for the principal perſonages.

The genera which proceed by quarters of tones, or a number of ſucceſſive half-tones, are excluded from the muſic of the theatre, becauſe they are not ſufficiently maſculine, or ſufficiently eaſy of performance [s]. The ſinging is preceded by a prelude executed by two flute-players [t].

The duty of the maſter of the chorus is not confined to guiding the voices of thoſe who are under his directions; he is alſo to give them leſſons in the two kinds of dances which are adapted in the theatre; one of which, the dance properly ſo called, the choral performers only execute on certain occaſions; as when, for example, ſome happy tidings compel them to yield to the tranſports of their joy [u]: the other, which has very late been introduced into tragedy [x], is that which, by regulating the motions and different inflections of the body [y], paints with greater preciſion than the former, the actions, manners, and ſentiments [z]. This, of all imitations, is perhaps the moſt energetic, becauſe its rapid eloquence is not enfeebled by language, but expreſſes every thing by exhibiting it to the eyes, and is no leſs proper to ſatisfy the mind than to excite emotion in the heart. The Greeks, therefore, attentive to multiply the means of influencing the paſſions, have omitted nothing which might bring to perfection this firſt language of nature. Among them, poetry and muſic are always ſupported by the action of the performers.

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[r] Id. ibid. p. 770.

[s] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1137. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 271.

[t] Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 15. cap. 5. Heſych. in Ἐυδίσμε. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 580; in Ran. v. 1282; in Nub. v. 311. Lucian. in Harmonid. t. i. p. 851.

[u] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 702; in Trachin. v. 220. Schol. ibid. Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 1247, &c. &c.

[x] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583.

[y] Plat. de leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 816.

[z] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 652.

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This action, so lively and so persuasive, animates the discourses of their orators [a], and sometimes the lessons of their philosophers [b]. The names of poets and orators who have enriched it with new figures are still recorded [c]; and their researches have produced an art which has only been corrupted in consequence of its success.

This kind of dance not being, like the harmony [d], only a succession of cadenced movements and expressive rests, it is manifest that it ought to be diversified according to the different species of drama [e]. In tragedy it should depict souls which sustain their passions, their happiness, or their misfortunes, with that decency and firmness which are suitable to the elevation of their character [f]. In the attitudes of the actors we ought to recognize the models that the sculptors have imitated, to give to their figures the most elegant positions [g]. The evolutions of the chorus should be executed with all the order and discipline of a military march [h]; and all the exterior signs should contribute with such precision to the unity of the interest, that a concert no less agreeable to the eyes than to the ears should be the result.

The ancients were very sensible of the necessity of this harmony, since they give to the tragic dance the name of *Emmelia* [i], which signifies a happy mixture of noble and elegant concords, an exquisite modulation in the action of the personages [k]; and this, in fact, have I more than once remarked, and especially in that piece of Æschylus in which king Priam offers a ransom for the body of his son [l]. The chorus of Trojans, prostrate with him at the feet of the conqueror of Hector, and like him uttering, amid their dignified emotions,

[a] Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 851. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.
[b] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 21.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 21, 22.
[d] Plut. in Sympos. lib. 9. quest. 15. t. ii. p. 747.
[e] Athen. ibid. p. 20; lib. 14. cap. 7. p. 630. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 540.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 816.
[g] Athen. cap. 6. p. 629.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 628.
[i] Plat. ibid. Lucian. de Salt. § 26. t. ii. p 283. Hesych. in Ἐμμέλ.
[k] Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 924.
[l] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 21.



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expreſſions of grief, fear, and hope, communicate to the ſoul of Achilles, and that of the ſpectators, the ſentiments with which they are penetrated.

The dance of comedy is free, familiar, often ignoble, and too frequently diſgraced by a licentiouſneſs ſo groſs as to diſguſt perſons who reſpect decency [m]. Even Ariſtophanes himſelf has made a merit of having baniſhed it from ſome of his pieces [n].

In the drama which is called ſatyric, the dance or action is lively, tumultuous, but without expreſſion, or relation to the words [o].

As ſoon as the Greeks had perceived the merits of the imitative dance, they conceived ſuch a fondneſs for it, that authors, encouraged by the approbation of the multitude, quickly corrupted it. The abuſe at preſent has arrived at its height: on the one hand, attempts are made to imitate, or, more properly ſpeaking, counterfeit every thing [p]; and, on the other, applauſe is only beſtowed on effeminate and laſcivious geſtures, or confuſed and extravagant movements. The actor Callipides, who was ſurnamed The Ape, has, almoſt in our time, introduced, or rather authorized, this bade taſte, by the dangerous ſuperiority of his talents *. His ſucceſſors, to equal him, have copied his faults, and to ſurpaſs him exaggerated them. They exert and ſtrain themſelves like thoſe ignorant muſicians who, by forced and ridiculous contorſions, endeavour, while playing the flute, to repreſent the winding courſe which a diſcus traces as it rolls along the ground [q].

The multitude, who ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by thoſe frigid extravagances, will not pardon errors ſometimes more excuſable. They are frequently known to expreſs by degrees their diſapprobation of an actor, firſt by low mur-

[m] Theophr. Charact. cap. 6. Duport. ibid. p 305.
[n] Ariſtoph in Nub. v. 540.
[o] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 7. p. 630.
[p] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 675.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[q] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 675.

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murs, then by loud laughter, tumultuous exclamations [r], and violent hiſſings [s]. They ſtamp with their feet, to oblige him to quit the ſtage [t]; make him take off his maſk, that they may triumph in his ſhame [u]; order the herald to call another actor, who is fined if he is not preſent [x]; and ſometimes even demand that a diſgraceful puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on him [y]. Neither age, celebrity, nor long ſervices can exempt him from this rigorous treatment [z]; new ſucceſs alone can reſtore him to favour; and in this caſe the audience clap their hands [a], and applaud with the ſame pleaſure and the ſame fury.

This alternative of glory and diſgrace is common to the actor with the orator who ſpeaks in the aſſembly of the people, and the profeſſor who inſtructs his diſciples [b]. In like manner, alſo, mediocrity of talents can only degrade his profeſſion. He enjoys all the privileges of a citizen; and, as he muſt be free from all the ſtigmas of infamy with which the laws puniſh offences, he may arrive at the moſt honourable employments. In our time, a famous actor, named Ariſtodemus, was ſent on an embaſſy to Philip king of Macedon [c]. Others have poſſeſſed great influence in the public aſſembly [d]. I ſhall add that Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Ariſtophanes, did not bluſh to act a part in their own pieces [e].

I have ſeen excellent actors: I have ſeen Theodorus in the beginning of his theatrical career, and Polus at the end of his. The expreſſion of the former was ſo truly natural that he might have been taken for the very perſon he repreſented [f]; the latter had attained to the perfection of his art: never

[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.
[s] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 346.
[t] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 122.
[u] Duport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 6. p. 308.
[x] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 11. § 88.
[y] Lucian. in Apol. § 5. t. i. p. 713.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 516.
[a] Theoph. Charact. cap. 11.
[b] Duport. in Theophr. Charact. p. 376.
[c] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397.
[d] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 295 et 341.
[e] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 20; cap. 18. p. 21. Vit. Ariſtoph. p. xiii.
[f] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 40.



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were greater powers joined to so much intelligence and sentiment. In one of the tragedies of Sophocles he acted the part of Electra; I was present. Nothing can be conceived of greater theatrical effect than the situation of that princess when she embraces the urn which she imagines to contain the remains of her brother Orestes. In this instance, these were not ashes to which the actor was cold and indifferent, they were the very ashes of a son of whom Polus had lately been deprived. He had caused the urn to be brought from the tomb in which it was enclosed: and when it was presented to him, when he seized it with a trembling hand, when taking it in his arms he pressed it to his heart, he uttered accents of such lively grief, so moving, and so fearfully expressive, that the whole theatre resounded with exclamations; and the spectators shed torrents of tears in commiseration of the unhappy fate of the son, and the wretched condition of the father [g].

The actors have habits and symbols suited to their parts. The kings gird their brow with a diadem; they lean on a sceptre which bears an eagle on its top *, and are habited in long robes of purple, or other colours, ornamented with gold [h]. The heroes frequently appear covered with the skin of a lion [i] or a tiger, and armed with swords, spears, quivers and clubs. All who suffer under misfortunes, wear a black, brown, or dirty white garment, which frequently hangs in tatters. The age, sex, condition, and present situation of every personage of the drama, is almost always indicated by the colour of his dress [k].

But this is still better affected by a kind of helmet, by which the head is entirely covered, and which, substituting an artificial visage for that of the actor, produces successive illusions throughout the duration of the piece. I speak of the

[g] Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.

* The sceptre was originally a large staff or truncheon.

[h] Aristoph. in Av. v. 512. Schol. ibid. et in Nub. v. 70. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 115. Suid. in Στρὶς.

[i] Lucian. de Salvat. § 27. t. ii. p. 285.

[k] Poll. ibid. § 117.

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mask, of which there are various kinds, for tragedy, comedy, and satyr. Some are provided with hair of different colours; others with beards of various lengths and thickness; and others represent, as exactly as possible, the charms of youth and beauty [l]. There are some which open an enormous mouth, lined with plates of brass, or some other sonorous substance, that may give the voice sufficient strength to reach the most distant part of the theatre [m]. Others also have a kind of toupée, or fore-top, terminating in a point [n], and represent the ancient head-dress of the Athenians; for we know that at the time the first essays were made in the dramatic art, it was the custom to collect and fasten the hair in a bunch or tuft on the top of the head [o].

Tragedy employed the mask almost from its earliest invention, but by whom it was introduced into comedy is not known [p]. It has supplied the place of the gross colours with which the followers of Thespis besmeared their faces, and the thick leaves of the vine-branch with which they shaded their brows, that they might give way with more indiscretion to the excesses of satire and licentiousness. Thespis increased their audacity by veiling them with a piece of linen [q]; and from this essay, Æschylus, who of himself, or by his imitators, discovered all the secrets of the dramatic art, imagined that a disguise, consecrated by custom, might be a new means of impressing the senses and the heart. The mask was completed under his hands, and became a portrait rendered more lively by colours, and copied from the sublime model which the author had conceived of the gods and heroes [r]. Chœrilus and his successors enlarged the idea, and brought it to such perfection [s], that the result has been a succession of portraits, in

[l] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 133, &c.

[m] Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 7. Cassiod. Variar. lib. 4. epist. 51. Plin. lib. 47. cap. 10. p. 789. Solin. cap. 37. p. 67. Dubos, Refl. Crit. t. iii. p. 199.

[n] Poll. ibid. Lucian. de Saltat. § 27. t. ii. p. 284.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 22 Periz. ibid.

[p] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 656.

[q] Suid. in Θέσπ. Poll. lib. 10. cap. 39. § 167.

[r] Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 278.

[s] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 22. p. 659. Suid. in Χοιρίλ. Etymol. Magn. in Ἑρμῶν.


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which are expreſſed, as far as art will permit, the principal differences of conditions, and the characters and ſentiments which good or evil fortune inſpire [t]. How often, in fact, have I not diſcerned, at a ſingle glance, the profound grief of Niobe, the atrocious projects of Medea, the terrible rage of Hercules, the deplorable deſpondency of the wretched Ajax [u], and the menacing fury of the pale and haggard Eumenides [x].

There was a time when comedy preſented to the ſpectators the faithful portrait of thoſe whom it openly attacked [y]. More decent at preſent, it confines itſelf to general reſemblances, and ſuch as are relative to the abſurdities and vices which are the object of its ſatire; but theſe are ſufficient for us immediately to recognize the maſter, the ſervant, the paraſite, the indulgent or ſevere old man, the youth of regular manners or diſſipated life, the maiden adorned in all her charms, and the matron diſtinguiſhed by the gravity of her carriage and her ſilver hairs [z].

We do not indeed ſee the various ſhades of paſſion ſucceed each other in the countenance of the actor; but the greater part of the ſpectators are ſo diſtant from the ſtage that it would be impoſſible for them in any manner to be reached by this eloquent language [a]. Let us proceed to objections that are better founded. The maſk cauſes the voice to loſe a part of thoſe inflexions which give it ſo many charms in converſation; its tranſitions are ſometimes abrupt, its intonations harſh and rugged [b]: the laugh is altered; and if it is not managed with art, its grace and effect are entirely loſt [c]. In fine, how is it poſſible to endure the ſight of an hideous mouth, always motionleſs [d], and continually gaping when the actor is ſilent *?

[t] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 133, &c. Schol. Sophocl. in Oedip. Tyr. v. 80.
[u] Quintil. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 702.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 423.
[y] Id. in Equit. v. 230. Schol. ibid.
[z] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 135, &c.
[a] Dubos, Reflex. Crit. t. iii. p. 209.
[b] Diog. Laert. lib. 4. § 27. Suid. in Φλαυ.
[c] Quintil. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 716.
[d] Lucian. de Gymnaſ. § 23. t. ii. p. 904. Id. de Saltat. t. ii. p. 284. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 5. cap. 9.
* See note at the end of the volume.


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The Greeks are ſenſible of theſe inconveniences; but they would be ſtill more offended if the actors performed without ſuch a diſguiſe; ſince, in fact, they could not expreſs the relations which exiſt, or ought to exiſt, between the phyſiognomy and the character, between the condition and the external appearance. Among a nation which does not permit women to appear on the ſtage [e], and which conſiders propriety as a rule as indiſpenſable and eſſential in the practice of the arts as in that of morals, what diſguſt muſt not be excited at ſeeing Antigone and Phædra appear with features, the harſhneſs of which would deſtroy the illuſion, Agamemnon and Priam with an ignoble air, and Hippolytus and Achilles with wrinkles and gray hairs! The maſk, which it is allowed to change with every ſcene, and on which may be pourtrayed the ſymptoms of the principal affections of the ſoul, can alone maintain and juſtify the error of the ſenſes, and add a new degree of probability to imitation.

It is on the ſame principle that in tragedy the ſtature of the actors is frequently increaſed to four cubits [f] *, the height of Hercules [g] and the moſt ancient heroes. This is effected by buſkins, which raiſe them four or five inches [h]: while gauntlets lengthen their arms; and their breaſt, ſides, and every part of their body, are rendered apparently thicker in proportion [i]. And when, conformably to the laws of tragedy, which requires a ſtrong and ſometimes vehement declamation [k], this almoſt coloſſal figure, habited in a magnificent robe, makes the theatre reſound with a voice audible to its utmoſt extremity [l]; there are few ſpectators who will not

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 395. Plut. in Phocion. t. i. p. 750. Lucian. de Salt. § 28. t. ii. p. 285. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.

[f] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1046. Athen. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 198.

* Six Grecian feet, or five French feet eight inches (ſix Engliſh feet and nearly half an inch).

[g] Apollod. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 9. p. 96. Philoſtr. lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 73; lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 152. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 10.

[h] Winckelm. Hiſt. de l'Art. t. ii. p. 194. Ejuſd. Monum. Ined. t. ii. p. 247.

[i] Lucian. de Saltat. cap. 27. t. ii. p. 284. Id. Tragœd. cap. 41. t. ii. p. 688.

[k] Horat. lib. 1. ep. 3. v. 14. Juvenal. Satir. 6. v. 36. Buleng. de Theatr. lib. 1. cap. 7.

[l] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 4. p. 77. Philoſtr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 195. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 28. t. i. p. 158.

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feel the full effect of this majeſtic decoration, and find themſelves more diſpoſed to receive the impreſſions it is intended to communicate.

Before the pieces begin, care is taken to purify the place of aſſembly [m]; and after they are ended, different bodies of magiſtrates aſcend the ſtage, and make libations on an altar conſecrated to Bacchus [n]. Theſe ceremonies ſeem to impreſs a character of ſanctity on the pleaſures which they precede and which they conclude.

The decorations with which the ſcene is embelliſhed are not leſs ſtriking to the eyes of the multitude. The idea of them was firſt conceived, in the time of Æſchylus, by an artiſt named Agatharcus, who, in a learned treatiſe, explained the principles on which he had proceeded [o]. Theſe firſt eſſays were afterwards brought to perfection by the efforts of the ſucceſſors of Æſchylus [p], and by the works which Anaxagoras and Democritus publiſhed on the rules of perſpective [q].

According to the nature of the ſubject, the ſcene repreſents a pleaſant plain [r], a frightful ſolitude [s], the ſea-ſhore ſurrounded by ſteep rocks and deep caverns [t], tents erected near a beſieged city [u], or a harbour filled with ſhips [x]. Uſually the action paſſes in the veſtibule of a palace [y], or of a temple [z]: in front is an open place; on the ſide houſes are ſeen, between which two principal ſtreets go off, one towards the eaſt, and the other towards the weſt [a].

The firſt diſplay is ſometimes very beautiful and grand. Aged men, women, and children, are beheld proſtrate near an altar, and imploring the protection of the gods and the aid

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[m] Harpoc. et Suid. in Καθαρ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 104.
[n] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.
[o] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 124.
[p] Schol. in Vit. Soph.
[q] Vitruv. ibid.
[r] Euripid. in Electr.
[s] Æſchyl. in Prom.
[t] Soph. in Philoct. Euripid. in Iphig. in Taur.
[u] Soph. in Ajac. Euripid. in Troad. Id. in Rheſ.
[x] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul.
[y] Id. in Med. in Alceſt. in Androm. Soph. in Trach. Id. in Œdip. Tyr.
[z] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. in Ion.
[a] Soph. in Ajac. v. 816. Euripid. in Oreſt. v. 1259.


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of their ſovereign [b]. In the courſe of the piece the ſpectacle is varied in a thouſand modes. Youthful princes arrive in a hunting dreſs, and, ſurrounded by their friends and their dogs, ſing hymns in honour of Diana [c]; or a chariot appears in which is ſeen Andromache with her ſon Aſtyanax [d]; or another chariot, which now brings in ſolemn pomp to the camp of the Greeks, Clytæmneſtra, ſurrounded by her ſlaves, and holding the infant Oreſtes, who is ſleeping, in her arms [e]; and now conveys her to the cottage where her daughter Electra is drawing water from a fountain [f]. Here Ulyſſes and Diomede enter by night the Trojan camp, through which they quickly ſpread alarm; the ſentinels run together from all ſides, crying: *Stop, ſtop; kill, kill* [g]. There the Grecian ſoldiers, after the taking of Troy, appear on the roofs of the houſes, and begin to reduce that celebrated city to aſhes [h]. At another time coffins are brought, containing the bodies of the chiefs of the Argives who fell at the ſiege of Thebes; their funerals are celebrated on the ſtage, and their widows expreſs their grief in mournful ſongs. One of them, named Evadne, is ſeen on the top of a rock, at the foot of which is erected the funeral pile of Capaneus, her huſband. She is habited in her richeſt ornaments, and, deaf to the entreaties of her father, and the cries of her companions, precipitates herſelf into the devouring flames [i].

The marvellous alſo adds to the charm of the exhibition. Some god deſcends in dramatic machinery; or the ſhade of Polydorus burſts from the boſom of the earth, to announce to Hecuba the new calamities by which ſhe is menaced [k]. The ghoſt of Achilles leaves the tomb, appears to the aſſembly of the Greeks, and commands them to ſacrifice Polyxena, the

[b] Soph. in Œdip. Tyr. Euripid. in Suppl.
[c] Euripid. in Helen. v. 1185. in Hippol. v. 58.
[d] Id. in Troad. v. 568.
[e] Id. in Iphig. in Aul. v. 616.
[f] Id. in Electr. v. 55 et 998.
[g] Rheſ. ap. Eurip. v. 675.
[h] Eurip. in Troad. v. 1256.
[i] Eurip. in Suppl. v. 1054 et 1070.
[k] Id. in Hecub.

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daughter of Priam [l]; or Helen aſcends to the vault of heaven, where, transformed into a conſtellation, ſhe is to become a propitious ſign to mariners [m]; or Medea traverſes the air in a car drawn by dragons [n].

I ſhall here ſtop. Were a greater number of examples neceſſary, I might eaſily find them in the Greek tragedies, and eſpecially in the more ancient. One of the pieces of Æſchylus is, if I may ſo ſpeak, only a ſucceſſion of moveable pictures [o]; ſome of them intereſting, and others ſo extravagant and monſtrous, that they could only preſent themſelves to the licentious imagination of the author.

In fact, exaggeration enters even into the marvellous, when we ſee on the ſtage Vulcan accompanied by Strength and Force nailing Prometheus to the ſummit of Caucaſus; and when we behold, immediately after, that ſtrange perſonage the Ocean arrive, mounted on a kind of hippogriff [p], and the nymph Io with the horns of a heifer on her head [q]. The Greeks at preſent reject ſuch portraits, as little ſuitable to tragedy [r]; and admire the diſcretion with which Sophocles has treated this part of the dramatic exhibition in one of his pieces.

Œdipus, deprived of ſight, and driven from his ſtates, has arrived with his two daughters at the town of Colonus, in the environs of Athens, whither Theſeus comes to grant him an aſylum. He had been informed by the oracle that his death would be preceded by extraordinary ſigns; and that his bones, depoſited in a place which ſhould be known only to Theſeus and his ſucceſſors, ſhould for ever draw down the vengeance of the gods on the Thebans, and ſecure their favour to the Athenians. His deſign is to reveal, before his death, this ſecret to Theſeus [s]. The Coloniates, however,

[l] Id. ibid. Soph. ap. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 15. p. 114.
[m] Euripid. in Oreſt. v. 1631.
[n] Id. in Med. v. 1321. Schol. ibid. Senec in Med. v. 1025. Horat. epod. 3. v. 14.
[o] Æſchyl. in Suppl.
[p] Id. in Prom. v. 286 et 395.
[q] Id. ibid. v. 590 et 675.
[r] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 14. p. 662.
[s] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 93. et 650.

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are fearful left the preſence of Œdipus, unfortunate and defiled with crimes, ſhould occaſion ſome calamity to befal them. While they are employed in theſe reflections, they ſuddenly exclaim:

"Almighty Jove, what thunders rend the air[t]!

Oedipus.

My daughters, O my daughters, to this place
Is there the generous Theſeus who will bring?

Antigone.

His preſence what of moment here requires?

Oedipus.

Soon will this winged thunder of high Jove
Lead me to Pluto's realms. Send then with ſpeed.

Chorus (*ſinging*).

Awfully dreadful is this deep'ning roar
Roll'd by the hand of Jove: my hoary hairs
Are rais'd through horror upright on my head,
And my ſoul ſinks within me.—There again
The rapid lightning flames along the ſky.
What terrible event doth this portend?
The dread of it appals me: not in vain,
Not unproductive of ſome dreadful fate,
Theſe thunders roll.—Almighty Jove! Again
Wide through th' ethereal vault of heaven they roll.

Oedipus.

This, O my daughters, is the fated day
That ends my life: there is no refuge more.

Chorus.

How know'ſt thou this? Whence haſt thou thus divin'd*?

Oedipus.

I know it well: but with the utmoſt ſpeed
Be your illuſtrious ſovereign hither call'd.

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[t] Id. ibid. v. 1450, &c.

* The French gives this line to Antigone.

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CHORUS (*singing*).

Ah me, ah me! Again the thunder's roar
Around us with redoubled fury rolls.
Be merciful, O God, if to this land,
My native country, aught of dire event
Thou bringeſt, yet be merciful to me;
Nor let me ſhare misfortune as my meed,
Becauſe this man with fated woes oppreſs'd
I ſaw: Almighty Jove on thee I call *!

POTTER.

The ſcene continues in the ſame manner till the arrival of Theſeus, to whom Œdipus haſtens to reveal his ſecret.

The repreſentation of dramatic pieces requires a great number of machines [u], ſome of which are employed for flights through the air, the deſcent of deities, or the apparition of ghoſts [x]; and others to produce or give the reſemblance of natural effects, as ſmoke, flame [y], or thunder; the ſound of the latter of which is imitated by cauſing ſtones to fall from a great height into a brazen veſſel [z]. Other machines, by turning on wheels or rollers, preſent to the ſpectators the inſide of a houſe or tent [a]. In this manner is Ajax exhibited in the midſt of the animals he has recently ſacrificed to his fury [b].

Managers are appointed to defray a part of the expence attending the repreſentation of the pieces. In return, they receive a trifling piece of money from each of the ſpectators [c].

* From this fragment of a ſcene, and all that I have ſaid above, it will be manifeſt that the Greek tragedy was like the French opera, only a mixture of poetry, muſic, dancing, and ſcenery: but with two differences; firſt, that the words were ſometimes ſung and ſometimes declaimed; and, ſecondly, that the chorus rarely executed dances properly ſo called, and that theſe were always accompanied with ſinging.

[u] Plat. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348.
[x] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 130. Buleng. lib. 1. cap. 21 et 22.
[y] Euripid. Oreſt. v. 1542 et 1677.
[z] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 291.
[a] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 407. Schol. ibid.
[b] Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 344.
[c] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 477. Theophr. Charact. cap. 11. Caſaub. ibid. p. 100. Duport. ibid. p. 341 et 383.

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At firſt, and while there was only a ſmall wooden theatre, it was not permitted to require any thing at the door; but the deſire of obtaining the beſt places cauſing frequent quarrels to ariſe, the government ordered that, for the future, each perſon ſhould pay a drachma [d]. The rich were then in poſſeſſion of all the places, the price of which was ſoon reduced to an obolus by the management of Pericles, who wiſhed to attach the poorer claſs of citizens to his intereſt. He cauſed a decree to be paſſed, by which it was enacted, that one of the magiſtrates, before every dramatic performance, ſhould diſtribute to each of thoſe citizens two oboli, one to pay for his place, and another to aſſiſt him to ſupply his wants during the feſtivals [e].

The building of the preſent theatre, which, being much more ſpacious than the old one, is not expoſed to the ſame inconveniences, ought naturally to have put an end to this liberality. But the decree has never been repealed [f], though its conſequences have been extremely pernicious to the ſtate. Pericles had aſſigned the expence with which he charged the royal treaſury to be defrayed from the contributions levied on the allies to make war on the Perſians [g]. Emboldened by this firſt ſucceſs, he continued to draw from the ſame ſource, till the funds of the military treaſury were inſenſibly all devoted to the pleaſures of the multitude. Not long ſince, an orator having propoſed to reſtore them to their original deſtination, the general aſſembly paſſed a decree forbidding any perſon under pain of death to mention the ſubject [h]; and no one now dares to oppoſe in form this enormous abuſe. Demoſthenes has twice attempted, by indirect means, to point out the miſchiefs reſulting from it [i]; but, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he now expreſsly declares that no change ought to be made [k].

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[d] Heſych. Suid. et Harpocr. in Θεωρικ.
[e] Liban. Argum. Olynth. 1. Ulpian. in Olynth. 1. p. 14.
[f] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1184.
[g] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 400.
[h] Ulpian. ibid.
[i] Demoſth. Olynth. 1. p. 3 et 4. Ulpian. p. 11; Olynth. 3 p. 36.
[k] Demoſth. Phil. 4. p. 100.

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The manager ſometimes gives the exhibition gratis [l]; ſometimes alſo he diſtributes tickets which are received inſtead of the uſual pay [m], which is now fixed at two oboli [n].

## CHAP. LXXI.

*Converſations on the Nature and Object of Tragedy.*

AT the houſe of Apollodorus I had become acquainted with one of his nephews, named Zopyrus, a young man of genius, and ardently deſirous to dedicate his talents to the ſtage. One day, when he came to ſee me, he found with me Nicephorus, a poet, who, after ſome attempts in comedy, believed he had reaſon to prefer the art of Ariſtophanes to that of Æſchylus.

Zopyrus ſpoke to me of his favourite ſubject with new warmth. Is it not ſtrange, ſaid he, that the rules for tragedy have never been collected? We have great models; but theſe models have alſo great defects. Formerly genius might ſoar unreſtrained; at preſent it is expected that it ſhould obſerve laws in which no one deigns to inſtruct us. And what need have you of inſtruction? replied Nicephorus. In a comedy, the events which have preceded the action, the incidents of which it is conſtituted, the complication and the developement, are all the offspring of the invention of the poet; and the public therefore paſs judgment on him with extreme rigour. It is not the ſame with tragedy, the ſubjects of which are given and known, and whether they be probable or not is of little importance. Preſent to us Adraſtus, the very children will recount to you his misfortunes. At the name alone of Œdipus or Alcmæon, they will tell you that the

[l] Theophr. Charact. cap. 11.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 477. Theophr. ibid. cap. 6.

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piece muſt conclude with the aſſaſſination of a mother. If the thread of the intrigue ſhould drop from your hands, make the chorus ſing; are you embarraſſed with the cataſtrophe, cauſe ſome god to deſcend in machinery. The people, ſeduced by the muſic and the decoration, will indulge you in every kind of licence, and crown without heſitation your noble efforts [o].

But I perceive your ſurprize, and will proceed to a more circumſtantial vindication of what I have advanced. He then ſat down; and while, after the manner of the ſophiſts, he raiſed his hand to aſſume an elegant geſture, we ſaw Theodectes, the author of ſeveral excellent tragedies [p], enter, accompanied by Polus, one of the ableſt actors of Greece [q], and ſome others of our friends, who, to an exquiſite taſte joined profound knowledge.—So! ſaid Nicephorus, to me ſmiling, what now muſt I do with my geſture? you muſt reſerve it, ſaid I, for another opportunity, you will perhaps ſoon have occaſion to employ it; and immediately, taking Zopyrus by the hand, I ſaid to Theodectes, Permit me to introduce to you this young man; he aſpires to enter the temple of fame, and I wiſh to recommend him to thoſe who are acquainted with the road to it.

Theodectes appeared prepoſſeſſed in his favour, and promiſed his advice when it might be requiſite. We are at preſent, added I, ſurrounded with difficulties, for want of a code of precepts. But whence, replied he, can we obtain it? Men of genius, with models before them, ſometimes apply themſelves to the practice of an art; but as the theory ought to conſider that art in its eſſence, and raiſe itſelf to its ideal beauty, it is neceſſary that philoſophy ſhould enlighten taſte, and direct experience. I know, anſwered I, that you have long ſtudied the nature of the drama, which has procured you deſerved applauſes; and that you have frequently diſcuſſed its principles with Ariſtotle, both in converſation and

[o] Antiph. et Diphil. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 222.

[p] Plut. in X. Rhetor. t. ii. p. 837. Suid. in Θεό.

[q] Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.



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in writing. But you know alſo, ſaid he, that in this reſearch we find, at every ſtep, problems to reſolve, and difficulties to vanquiſh; that each rule is contradicted by an example which is an exception, and that every ſuch example may be juſtified by ſucceſs: that the moſt contrary practices are authoriſed by great names; and that we are ſometimes in danger of cenſuring the greateſt geniuſes of Athens. Judge, then, if I ought to expoſe myſelf to this riſk in the preſence of their mortal enemy.

My dear Theodectes, replied Nicephorus, you ſhall not be under the neceſſity of accuſing them: I will myſelf voluntarily undertake this taſk. Only communicate your doubts, and we will ſubmit to the judgment of the company. Theodectes yielded to our ſolicitations, but on condition that he ſhould always be permitted to ſhield himſelf by the authority of Ariſtotle, that we would enlighten and inſtruct him, and that the moſt eſſential articles ſhould alone be diſcuſſed. Notwithſtanding the latter precaution, we were obliged to meet ſeveral days ſucceſſively. I ſhall proceed to give the reſult of theſe converſations; but muſt previouſly obſerve that, to avoid confuſion, I admit only a few interlocutors.

## FIRST CONVERSATION.

*Zopyrus.* Since you grant me permiſſion, illuſtrious Theodectes, I ſhall, in the firſt place, aſk you what is the object of tragedy?

*Theodectes.* The intereſt ariſing from terror and pity[r]; and, to produce this effect, I preſent you with an action which is important, entire, and of a proper extent[s]. Leaving to comedy the vices and abſurdities of private perſons, tragedy paints only great calamities, and takes its examples from the elevated claſs of kings and heroes.

[r] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 660.; cap. 11. p. 660.; cap. 14. p. 662.

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656.



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*Zopyrus.* And why does it not ſometimes chooſe them from among the inferior conditions of men? They would make a more lively impreſſion on me, if they approached nearer to the ſtation which I hold in life [t].

*Theodectes.* I know not but they might then, if pourtrayed by an able hand, excite in us emotions too violent. When I take my examples from a rank infinitely ſuperior to yours, I leave you the liberty to apply them to yourſelf, and the hope that you may be exempted from ſimilar calamities.

*Polus.* On the contrary, I have always thought that the abaſement of power ever makes a greater impreſſion on us than the obſcure revolutions of inferior conditions. We notice leſs the thunderbolt when it falls on a ſhrub, than when it cleaves an oak which lifted its proud head to the ſkies.

*Theodectes.* We ſhould inquire of the neighbouring ſhrubs in what manner they are affected in theſe two caſes, one of which is more adapted to aſtoniſh, but the other to intereſt them. But, without continuing this diſcuſſion any farther, I ſhall proceed to give a more direct anſwer to the queſtion of Zopyrus.

Our earlieſt authors ordinarily exerciſed their genius on the celebrated perſonages of the heroic times. We have preſerved this cuſtom, becauſe republicans ever contemplate with a kind of malignant joy, thrones overwhelmed in the duſt; and the fall of a ſovereign, which is followed neceſſarily by that of an empire. I ſhall add, that the misfortunes of private perſons could not be accommodated to the marvellous, which tragedy requires.

The action ought to be entire and perfect; that is to ſay, it ſhould have a beginning, a middle, and an end [u]: for thus the philoſophers expreſs themſelves when they ſpeak of a whole, all the parts of which are ſucceſſively unfolded to

[t] Id. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 559.

[u] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 656. et cap. 7. p. 658. Corneille, 1er Diſcours ſur le Poeme Dramatique, p. 14.



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our eyes [x]. To illuſtrate this rule by an example—in the Iliad, the action commences by the contention of Agamemnon and Achilles; it is continued by the recital of the misfortunes conſequent on the retiring of the latter from the aſſiſtance of the Greeks; and it concludes when he yields to the tears of Priam [y]. In fact, after this affecting ſcene the reader finds nothing more to wiſh.

*Nicephorus.* What could the ſpectator deſire after the death of Ajax? Is not the action ended at two thirds of the piece? Yet Sophocles has thought proper to continue it by a frigid conteſtation between Menelaus and Teucer; one of whom inſiſts on refuſing, and the other on granting, the rites of ſepulture to the wretched Ajax [z].

*Theodectes.* To be deprived of theſe honours, heightens among us the horrors of death, and may therefore add a new terror to the cataſtrophe of a piece. Our ideas in this begin to change; and if they ſhould ſo alter that we ſhall no longer be affected at this outrage, nothing can be more miſplaced than the diſpute of which you ſpeak: but this will not be the fault of Sophocles. I return to the action.

Do not imagine, with ſome authors, that its unity is only the unity of the hero; and do not attempt, after their example, to comprehend, even in a poem, all the circumſtances of the life of Theſeus or of Hercules [a]. Exceſſively to prolong the intereſt, or to diffuſe it over too great a number of particulars, is to weaken or deſtroy it [b]. Admire the diſcretion of Homer; he has choſen for the Iliad only an epiſode of the war of Troy [c].

I know that our emotions are ſtrengthened as they approach and unite; and that the moſt efficacious means to agitate the ſoul, is to ply it with redoubled ſtrokes: yet it is neceſſary

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[x] Plat. in Parm. t. iii. p. 137.
[y] Dacier, Reflexions ſur la Poetique d'Ariſtote, p. 106.
[z] Soph. in Ajac. Corneille, 1er Diſc. ſur le Poeme Dram. p. 13.
[a] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 8. p. 658.; et cap. 18. p. 666.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 675.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 671.



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that the action ſhould have a certain extent. That of the Agamemnon of Æſchylus cannot paſs but in a conſiderable time; that of the Suppliants of Euripides laſts ſeveral days; while thoſe of the Ajax and the Œdipus of Sophocles are completed in a ſhort portion of a ſingle day. The nobleſt pieces on our ſtage preſent us on this head, with varieties by which I am embarraſſed.

*Theodectes.* It were to be wiſhed that the action ſhould only laſt the time of the repreſentation of the piece. But endeavour at leaſt to compriſe it within the ſpace of time [d] which elapſes between the riſing and ſetting of the ſun *.

I have ſaid the more on the action, becauſe it is, if I may ſo ſpeak, the ſoul of tragedy [e]; and becauſe the dramatic intereſt depends eſpecially on the fable, or conſtitution of the ſubject.

*Polus.* This principle is eſtabliſhed by facts: I have ſeen pieces ſucceed which had no other merit than a fable well formed and ably conducted: and I have ſeen others in which the manners, ſentiments, and ſtyle ſeemed to enſure ſucceſs; which nevertheleſs failed, becauſe the ordonnance of the plot was defective. This indeed is the error of all beginners.

*Teodectes.* It has alſo been that of ſeveral ancient authors. They ſometimes neglected their plans, and atoned for their defect by the beauties of their language and deſcriptions, which are in tragedy what colouring is in painting; which, however brilliant it may be, always produces leſs effect than the elegant contours of a figure ſimply deſigned by the hand of a maſter [f].

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[d] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 5. p. 656. Dacier, Reſl. ſur la Poet. p. 66. Pratique du Theatre, liv. 2. chap. 7. p. 108.

* The words of Ariſtotle are, *a revolution of the ſun*; and from this expreſſion the moderns have formed their rule of twenty-four hours. But the moſt learned commentators underſtand, by *a revolution of the ſun*, only the continuance of that luminary above the horizon; and, as the tragedies were performed at the end of winter, the duration of the action ought only to be nine or ten hours.

[e] Ariſtot. cap. 6. p. 657.

[f] Id. de Poet. cap. 6. p. 657.



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Begin therefore by delineating the outlines of your subject [g], and afterwards enrich it with the ornaments of which you find it susceptible. In disposing it, be mindful of the difference between the historian and the poet [h]; the former of whom relates things as they actually have happened, and the latter as they might or ought to have happened. If history only presents you with a fact destitute of circumstances, you are at liberty to embellish it with fiction, and to add to the principal action particular actions which may render it more interesting. But you must add nothing which is not founded on reason, or which is improbable or unnecessary [i].

The conversation now became more general. Remarks were made on the different species of the probable; and it was observed that there is one for the common people, and another for more enlightened persons: it was agreed, therefore, to consider that only which is required in an exhibition presented to the multitude. The following are the conclusions which were received with general assent.

1. That is called probable, which almost every one allows to have the appearance of truth [k]. By this word also is understood whatever usually happens in given circumstances [l]. Thus, in history, such an event is ordinarily followed by such or such consequences. In morals, a man of such a condition in life, and such an age and character, must speak and act in such a certain manner [m].

2. It is probable, as the poet Agatho has said, that events will happen which are not probable; as when, for example, a man is vanquished by another man who is less strong or less courageous. It is this extraordinary species of the probable of which some authors have made use for the unravelling of the plots of their pieces [n].

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[g] Id. ibid. cap. 17 p. 665.
[h] Id. ibid. cap 9 p. 659.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Ap. Aristot. Rhet. ad Alexand. cap. 15. t ii. p. 625.
[l] Id. Rhetor. lib i. cap. 2. p. 517.
[m] [illegible] Poet. cap. 9. p. 659.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 18. p. 666.

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3. Whatever we believe to have happened, is probable; and whatever we believe never to have happened, is improbable [o].

4. It is better to admit what is really impoſſible, but at the ſame time probable, than what is really poſſible but without probability [p]. As, for example, the paſſions, injuſtice, and abſurdities attributed to the gods, are not among the number of poſſible things, and the crimes and calamities of the ancient heroes not always among thoſe that are probable: but the multitude have conſecrated theſe opinions by adopting them; and in the theatre the general opinion is equivalent to truth [q].

5. Probability ought to be preſerved in the conſtitution of the ſubject, in the connection of the ſcenes, in the pourtraying of the manners [r], in the choice of the diſcoveries [s], and in every part of the drama. You will inceſſantly aſk yourſelf, Is it poſſible, is it neceſſary, that ſuch a character ſhould ſpeak or act in ſuch a manner [t]?

*Nicephorus.* Was it poſſible that Œdipus ſhould have lived twenty years with Jocaſto, without making any inquiry concerning the circumſtances of the death of Laius?

*Theodectes.* Doubtleſs it was not: but the general opinion ſuppoſed the fact; and Sophocles, to conceal its abſurdity, does not begin the action till the moment which terminates the calamities that had afflicted the city of Thebes. Whatever had paſſed before that time, is without the drama, as Ariſtotle has made me obſerve [u].

*Nicephorus.* Your friend, to excuſe Sophocles, attributes to him an intention which he never had; for Œdipus openly declares his ignorance, and that he had never known in what manner the death of Laius had happened. He aſks where that prince was killed; whether at Thebes, in the country,

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[o] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 659.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 672.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 25. p. 673. Corneille, 2[er] Diſcours ſur le Poeme Dram. p. 2.; Diſc. ii. p. 57.
[r] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 15. p. 663.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 664.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 663.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 672.


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or in a foreign land [x]. Had he then never given any attention to an event to which he owed the hand of the queen, and the throne? Had no perſon ever ſpoken to him concerning it? We muſt ſurely allow that Œdipus had but little curioſity, and that his courtiers were remarkably reſerved and diſcreet.

Theodectes endeavoured in vain to vindicate Sophocles; we all agreed in opinion with Nicephorus. During this diſcuſſion ſeveral pieces were mentioned which owed their failure only to a defect in probability; and, among others, one by Carcinus, in which the ſpectators ſeeing a principal character enter a temple, and not ſeeing him come out, were ſo diſguſted when he appeared again in one of the following ſcenes, that the piece was condemned [y].

*Polus.* It muſt have had more eſſential faults. I have frequently acted in the Electra of Sophocles, in which mention is made of the Pythian games, the inſtitution of which was poſterior by ſeveral centuries to the time when the heroes of the piece lived [z]. The audience at every repreſentation murmured at this anachroniſm; yet the tragedy has always been ſuffered to remain on the ſtage.

*Theodectes.* This fault, which eſcapes the notice of the greater part of the ſpectators, is leſs dangerous than the former, of which every body can judge. In general, thoſe improbabilities which are only obſerved by intelligent perſons, or which are ſhaded over by a lively intereſt, are not greatly to be dreaded by an author. How many pieces are there in which it is ſuppoſed that, while a few verſes are recited, a number of events have paſſed off the ſtage, the tranſacting of which would require the greater part of a day [a]! Why does not this give offence? Becauſe the ſpectator, hurried

[x] Soph. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 112 et 228.
[y] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 17. p. 665.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 672.
[a] Soph. in Œdip. Colon. v. 1625 et 1649. Id. in Trachin. v. 642 et 747. Euripid. in Androm. v. 1008 et 1070. Brumoy, t. iv. p. 24. Dupoy, Trad. des Trachin. not. 24.

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along by the rapdity of the action, has neither leisure nor inclination to measure back his steps, and to employ himself in calculations which might weaken the illusion *.

Here ended the first conversation.

## SECOND CONVERSATION.

The next day, when all the company were met, Zopyrus said to Theodectes, You yesterday showed that the illusion of the drama ought to be founded on unity of action and on probability: what more is necessary to its perfection?

*Theodectes.* To attain the great end of tragedy, which is to excite terror and pity [b]. This is accomplished—1. By the exhibition of the scene, which presents to our view Œdipus with a bloody mask, Telephus covered with rage, or the Eumenides with their terrific symbols. 2. By the action, when its subject, and the manner in which the incidents are connected, are such as to excite strong emotions in the spectator. It is in the latter of these means that the genius of the poet is especially displayed.

It had been long perceived that, of all the passions, terror and pity could alone produce a lively and durable pathos [c]; hence the efforts which elegy and tragedy successively made to communicate to the soul emotion, which without violence might draw it from its languor, and cause it to taste pleasures without remorse. I tremble, and commiserate the woes which my fellow mortals suffer, and which I myself may in my turn experience [d]: but I cherish this alarm and these tears; for the former only pains my heart that I may instantly find relief in the latter. If the object which compels my

* In the *Phèdre* of Racine, it is not observed, that, while 37 verses are recited, Aricia, after having left the stage, must have arrived at the place where the horses wait, and that Theramenes must have found time enough to return to Theseus.

[b] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 662.; cap. 9. p. 660; cap. 11. p. 660.

[c] Marmont. Poet. Franc. t. ii. p. 96.

[d] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 559.

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tears were before my eyes, how ſhould I bear to look on it [e]? Imitation ſhows it to me through a veil which ſoftens its features; the copy is always leſs vivid than the original; and this imperfection is one of its principal merits.

*Polus.* Is not this what Ariſtotle meant, when he aſſerted that tragedy and muſic effect the purgation of terror and pity [f]?

*Theodectes.* No doubt. To purge thoſe two paſſions, is to purify their nature, and repreſs their exceſſes: and, in fact, the imitative arts take away from the reality all that is odious, and retain only what is intereſting. It hence follows, that emotions too harſh and painful are not to be excited. It is ſtill remembered, that Amaſis, king of Egypt, when plunged to the loweſt depth of human miſery, wept not when he beheld his ſon led to death, but burſt into a flood of tears at ſight of one of his friends aſking alms [g]. The latter of theſe ſcenes melted his heart, which the former had hardened. Remove far from me that exceſs of terror, thoſe fearful ſhocks, which ſtifle pity. Avoid ſtaining the ſtage with blood. Let not Medea murder her children, Œdipus tear out his eyes, or Ajax pierce himſelf with his ſword *, in the ſight of the ſpectators. This is one of the principal rules of tragedy.——

*Nicephorus.* And one which you inceſſantly violate. You love to feaſt your eyes with fearful and diſguſting images. Recollect Œdipus [h] and Polymneſtor [i]; who, after they are deprived of ſight, again appear on the ſtage, bathed in blood which ſtill ſtreams from their eyes.

*Theodectes.* This ſpectacle is foreign to the action; and our poets have had the weakneſs to grant it to the wiſhes of the multitude, who require violent ſhocks.

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[e] Id. de Poet. cap. 4. p. 654.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656. Id. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 458. Remarq. de Batt. ſur la Poet. d'Ariſtot. p. 225.

[g] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 559.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[h] Soph. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 1320 et 1330.

[i] Euripid. in Hecub. v. 1066.

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*Nicephorus.* It is you who have familiarized them to theſe horrid ſcenes. I ſhall not ſpeak of thoſe crimes, the very recital of which is dreadful; of thoſe wives, mothers, children, murdered by thoſe who were united to them by the tendereſt ties: you would reply that theſe facts are conſecrated by hiſtory; that they have been recounted to you repeatedly from your infancy; that they paſſed in ages ſo remote [k] that they now only excite that ſpecies of terror which is proper for tragedy. But you have found the fearful ſecret of increaſing their horror. My hair riſes erect when, at the cries of Clytemneſtra, who is ſtabbed by her ſon Oreſtes behind the ſcenes, Electra, her daughter, exclaims on the ſtage, Strike, if thou canſt, a ſecond time [l].

*Theodectes.* Sophocles has, through this whole tragedy, rendered the character of that princeſs ſo intereſting; ſhe is ſo loaded with misfortune and ignominy; ſhe paſſes through ſo many paroxyſms of fear, deſpair, and joy; that, without daring to juſtify, we are inclined to pardon this ſally of ferocity, which eſcapes her in the firſt moment of paſſion. Obſerve that Sophocles foreſaw its effect; and that, to correct it, he has made Electra declare, in a preceding ſcene, that her vengeance is only aimed againſt the murderer of her father [m].

This example, which ſhows with what addreſs an able hand prepares and directs its ſtrokes, proves at the ſame time that the ſentiments with which it is wiſhed to inſpire us, depend eſpecially on the relations and qualities of the principal character.

We may remark that an action which paſſes between perſons who are enemies, but indifferent to each other, makes on us only a tranſitory impreſſion; but that our emotions are of the ſtrongeſt kind when we behold any one about to periſh by the hand of a brother, a ſiſter, a ſon, or a parent. Let

[k] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 559.

[l] Soph. in Electr. v. 1438.

[m] Id. ibid. v. 963.

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your heroes, therefore, be, as much as poſſible, at variance with nature: but do not chooſe a villainous character; for ſuch a one, whether he paſs from misfortune to happineſs, or from happineſs to misfortune, will neither excite terror nor pity [n]. Avoid alſo preſenting to us a man of ſublime virtue who falls into calamity which he has in no manner drawn upon himſelf [o].

*Polus.* Theſe principles require to be diſcuſſed and proved. That the puniſhment of the wicked produces neither compaſſion nor fear, I can readily conceive. I ought only to pity misfortunes which are unmerited; and the villain has but too well deſerved the evils he ſuffers. I can only tremble at the calamities of one who reſembles myſelf, and in the villain this reſemblance is wanting. But nothing is ſo terrible and ſo affecting as innocence perſecuted, oppreſſed, ſhedding bitter tears, and uttering fruitleſs cries.

*Theodectes.* Nor is any thing ſo odious as the ſight of innocence ſuffering contrary to all appearance of juſtice. Then, inſtead of that pure pleaſure, that ſweet ſatisfaction, which I ſeek when I repair to the theatre, I feel only painful ſhocks, which at once wound my heart, and offend my reaſon. You will perhaps think that I ſpeak a new language; but it is that of thoſe philoſophers who, in theſe modern times, have conſidered the nature of the pleaſure we receive from tragedy [p].

What then is the picture which tragedy ſhould preſent to us on the ſtage? That of a man who may, in ſome meaſure, reproach himſelf with his misfortunes. Have you not obſerved that the calamities of individuals, and even the revolutions of empires, frequently originate entirely from a firſt fault remote or immediate; a fault, the conſequences of which are the more terrible becauſe they were unforeſeen? To apply this remark, we ſhall find, in Thyeſtes, vengeance

[n] Ariſtot de Poet. cap. 13. Corneille, Diſcours ii.

[o] Ariſtot. ibid.

[p] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 14. p. 662.

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carried to an extreme; in Œdipus and Agamemnon, falſe ideas of honour, and ambition; in Ajax, pride which diſdains the aſſiſtance of heaven [q]; in Hippolytus, an injury done to a jealous divinity [r]; in Jocaſta, a neglect of the moſt ſacred duties; in Priam and Hecuba, too great weakneſs in favour of the raviſher of Helen; and, in Antigone, a preference of the ſentiments of nature to eſtabliſhed laws.

The fate of Thyeſtes and of Œdipus makes us ſhudder [s]; but Thyeſtes, deprived by Atreus, his brother, of the throne which was his right, took revenge by the moſt cruel of outrages, by debauching the wife of his brother. Atreus was culpable, and Thyeſtes not innocent. It is in vain that Œdipus aſſerts his innocence, and exclaims that he killed his father without knowing him [t]: as the oracle had lately declared to him [u] that he ſhould commit the crime of parricide, ought he to have diſputed for precedence with an old man whom he met on his road; and to have deprived both him, and the ſlaves by whom he was attended, of life, for a ſlight inſult?

*Zopyrus.* He was not maſter of his anger.

*Theodectes.* He ought to have been: the philoſophers admit not that any paſſion can be ſufficiently violent to hurry us away in deſpite of our utmoſt efforts [x]; and if the ſpectators in the theatre, who are leſs enlightened, are more indulgent, they at leaſt know that the momentary extravagance of paſſion is ſufficient to precipitate us into an abyſs of ills.

*Zopyrus.* Will you dare to condemn Antigone for having, in contempt of an unjuſt prohibition, performed the rites of ſepulture for her brother?

*Theodectes.* I admire her courage, and I lament that ſhe ſhould be reduced to chooſe between two oppoſite duties; but, in fine, the law was expreſs [y], Antigone had broken it, and her condemnation had a pretext.

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[q] Soph. in Ajac. v. 785.
[r] Euripid. in Hipp. v. 113.
[s] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 14 p. 662.
[t] Soph. in Œdip. Col. v. 270, 538 et 575.
[u] Id. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 812.
[x] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 1, 2, 3. t. ii. p. 28, &c.
[y] Soph. in Antig. v. 454.

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If, among the cauſes aſſigned for the calamities of the principal perſonage, there are ſome which it may be eaſy to excuſe, you ſhall then repreſent him with weakneſſes and defects which may palliate in our eyes the horror of his deſtiny.

From theſe reflections you will concenter the intereſt on a man who ſhall be rather good than wicked; and who ſhall become unhappy, not by an atrocious crime, but by one of thoſe great faults which are eaſily pardoned in proſperity: ſuch were Œdipus and Thyeſtes [z].

*Polus.* You then diſapprove of thoſe pieces in which a man, in deſpite of himſelf, becomes both culpable and unhappy. Yet they have always ſucceeded; and tears will ever be excited by the deplorable fate of Phædra, Oreſtes, and Electra.

This remark occaſioned a very warm diſpute among the company, ſome of whom maintained that, to adopt the principle of Theodectes, was to condemn the ancient dramas, the great motive of which was the blind decrees of deſtiny; others obſerved that, in the greater part of the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, theſe decrees, though mentioned at intervals in the dialogue, had no influence either on the misfortunes of the principal perſonage, or on the progreſs of the action. Among other pieces referred to in proof of this aſſertion, were the Antigone of Sophocles, and the Medea and Andromache of Euripides.

The converſation occaſionally turned on that fatality which is irreſiſtible either by gods or men [a]. This doctrine, ſaid one, appears more dangerous than it is in reality. Obſerve its partizans; they reaſon as if they could effect nothing, and act as if every thing were in their power. Others, after having ſhown that ſuch an opinion ſerves only to juſtify crimes, and diſcourage virtue, aſked, with ſurpriſe, in what manner it could firſt have been introduced.

They were anſwered —There was a time when, the common feelings of humanity being found inſufficient to reſtrain

[z] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 13. p. 661. [a] Æſchyl. in Prom. v. 513.

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the powerful from oppreſſing the weak, endeavours were made to curb their violence by religious fear. It was an impiety not only to neglect the worſhip of the gods, but alſo to deſpoil their temples, to drive away the flocks conſecrated to them, and to inſult their miniſters. Such flagrant crimes, it was ſuggeſted, could not eſcape puniſhment, unleſs the guilty perſon made reparation for the outrage; and came to the feet of the altars, to ſubmit to the ceremonies which could alone purify him. The prieſts ceaſed not attentively to obſerve him. Did Fortune laviſh on him her favours? Heed it not, ſaid they; by this lure the gods will entice him into the ſnare[b]. Did he experience any of thoſe misfortunes which are annexed to the lot of humanity? Behold, exclaimed they, the effects of the anger of heaven, which could not but burſt on his devoted head. Did he eſcape the puniſhment he had merited during life? The thunderbolt, added they, is but ſuſpended; his children, or his children's children, ſhall bear the weight and the chaſtiſement of his iniquity[c]. They are therefore accuſtomed to imagine they ſee the vengeance of the gods purſuing the guilty, even to their lateſt generation; which vengeance is conſidered as juſtice with reſpect to him who has merited it, and as fatality with regard to thoſe on whom it devolves by inheritance. This doctrine appeared to be the ſolution of that concatenation of crimes and calamities which had deſtroyed the moſt ancient families of Greece. Let us give ſome examples.

Œneus, king of the Ætolians, had neglected to offer ſacrifices to Diana, who failed not to take vengeance for the omiſſion. Hence the multiplied miſchiefs that laid waſte his ſtates[d]; and the murderous enmities and diſſenſions which diſtracted the royal family, and ended in the death of Meleager, the ſon of Œneus[e].

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[b] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 93.
[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 91. Euripid. in Hippol. v. 831 et 1378.
[d] Homer. Iliad. 9. v. 529.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 31. p. 874.

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A crime committed by Tantalus, long cauſed the deſcendants of Pelops to be perſecuted by the furies. They had already infected the blood of that unfortunate family with all their poiſons, when they directed the ſhaft of Agamemnon againſt a hind conſecrated to Diana [f]. The goddeſs required the ſacrifice of Iphigenia: this ſacrifice ſerved as a pretext to Clytæmneſtra to murder her huſband [g]. Oreſtes revenged the death of his father, by killing his mother, and was himſelf purſued until he had received expiation.

Let us alſo recollect that uninterrupted ſucceſſion of horrid crimes and dire diſaſters which poured like a torrent on the family in poſſeſſion of the throne of Thebes, from Cadmus, the founder of the city, to the children of the wretched Œdipus. What was their baleful origin? Cadmus had killed a dragon which watched over a fountain conſecrated to Mars; he had married Hermione, the daughter of Mars and Venus; and Vulcan, in a fit of jealouſy, preſented that princeſs with a fatal robe which tranſmitted crimes and misfortunes to her deſcendants [h].

Happy, nevertheleſs, were nations when the vengeance of heaven extended only to the poſterity of the guilty perſon! How often has it been ſeen to fall on a whole kingdom! How many times alſo have the enemies of a people become likewiſe the enemies of their gods, whom they had never offended!

For this idea, which is derogatory to the divine nature, another that is not leſs ſo was afterwards ſubſtituted. Some ſages, terrified at the viciſſitudes which ſubvert all human affairs, imagined the exiſtence of a power that ſports with our projects, and ſeizes the moment of our happineſs to immolate us to its cruel jealouſy [i].

From theſe monſtrous ſyſtems, concluded Theodectes, it followed, that a man may be irreſiſtibly hurried into crimes

[f] Soph. in Electr. v. 570.
[g] Id. ibid. v. 530. Euripid. in Electr. v. 1020.
[h] Euripid. in Phœn. v. 941. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 169. Bannier, Mythol. t. iii. p. 73.
[i] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 32; lib. 3. cap. 40; lib. 7. cap. 46. Soph. in Philoct. v. 789.

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and misfortunes by the ſingle impulſe of a divinity to whom his family, his nation, or his proſperity is odious[k].

Yet, as the harſhneſs of this doctrine became more ſenſible in a tragedy than in other writings, our early authors frequently only employed it with correctives, and thus approached the rule which I have laid down. Sometimes the perſon who was the victim of fatality juſtified it by a crime he had himſelf added to that which had been tranſmitted to him: ſometimes, after having diſcharged the debt he owed to fate, he was brought back in ſafety from the precipice to which he had been hurried. Phædra is inflamed with a criminal paſſion, which Venus had kindled in her heart, to deſtroy Hippolytus. How does Euripides proceed? He gives to this princeſs only a ſecondary part; he does ſtill more: ſhe conceives and executes the fearful project of accuſing Hippolytus[l]. Her paſſion is involuntary, but her crime is not ſo; ſhe is only an odious character, who, after having raiſed ſome pity, ends by exciting indignation.

The ſame Euripides has wiſhed to concentrate all the intereſt on Iphigenia. Notwithſtanding her innocence and her virtues, ſhe is to expiate with her blood the offence committed by Agamemnon againſt Diana. How does the author act here? He does not complete the woes of Iphigenia: the goddeſs conveys her into Tauris, and is ſoon to bring her back triumphant into Greece[m].

The doctrine of fatality is nowhere more conſpicuous than in the tragedies of Oreſtes and Electra. But though an oracle is adduced which commands them to revenge their father's death[n]; though they are filled with terror before, and with remorſe after, the crime is committed; though they are encouraged by the appearance of a divinity, who juſtifies the action,

[k] Æſchyl. ap. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 380. Euripid. in Hippol. v. 831 et 1378. Caſaub. in Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 443.

[l] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 728 et 877.

[m] Id Iphig. in Aulid. v. 1583. Id. Iphig. in Taur. v. 783.

[n] Id. in Oreſt. v. 416 et 593. Soph. in Electr. v. 35, 70, &c.



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and promiſes them a lot more fortunate[o]; theſe ſubjects are not the leſs contrary to the object of tragedy. They nevertheleſs have been ſucceſsful; becauſe nothing can be more moving than the danger to which Oreſtes is expoſed, the misfortunes of Electra, the diſcovery of the brother and ſiſter; and becauſe, beſides, every ſubject receives new embelliſhments from the pen of Æſchylus, Sophocles, or Euripides.

At preſent, ſince a more rational philoſophy has forbidden us to attribute to the Divinity a ſingle emotion of envy or injuſtice[p], I doubt whether ſimilar fables, treated for the firſt time with the ſame genius, would receive univerſal approbation. I maintain, at leaſt, that we ſhould ſee with diſpleaſure the principal character incur the guilt of an atrocious crime; and in this I am ſupported by the manner in which Aſtydamas has lately conducted the fable of his Alcmæon. Hiſtory ſuppoſes that this young prince was authoriſed to plunge the poniard into the breaſt of his mother. Several authors have treated this ſubject. Euripides has fruitleſsly exhauſted all the reſources of art to give a colouring to an act ſo horrid[q]. Aſtydamas has had recourſe to an expedient adapted to the preſent delicacy of our taſte. Eriphile indeed periſhes by the hand of her ſon, but he is ignorant that ſhe is his mother[r].

*Polus.* If you do not admit this tranſmiſſion of crimes and calamities that deſcend from fathers to children, you will be forced to ſuppreſs the complaints with which the theatre inceſſantly reſounds againſt the injuſtice of the gods and the rigours of deſtiny.

*Theodectes.* We will not deprive the wretched of their privilege: we will leave them their complaints, but they ſhall take a more juſt direction; for they have ſtill a foundation

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[o] Euripid. in Oreſt. v. 1625. Id. in Electr. v. 1238.

[p] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29. Id. in Thæt. t. i. p. 176.

[q] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 28.

[r] Id. de Poet. cap. 14. p. 663.

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more real, and no less terrifying, than fatality: I mean the enormous disproportion between their errors and the evils consequent on them; as when they become the most unfortunate of men by a momentary gust of passion, by a trivial imprudence, or even, sometimes, by an excess of prudence; or, in fine, when the errors of the leaders of a people carry desolation through a whole empire.

Such calamities were very frequent in those remote times, when violent passions, as ambition and revenge, displayed all their energy. Tragedy, therefore, began by exhibiting the events of the heroic ages; events which are in part preserved in the writings of Homer, and in a still greater number in a work entitled the Epic Cycle, in which different authors have collected the ancient traditions of the Greeks [s].

Besides this source, from which Sophocles has drawn almost all his subjects, others have sometimes been taken from modern history, and others entirely invented. Æschylus brought on the stage the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis [t], and Phrynichus the taking of Miletus [u]. Agatho brought out a piece, the whole of which is invention [x], and Euripides another, which is entirely allegorical [y].

These different attempts succeeded [z], but were not imitated. Perhaps they require too great talents; or perhaps it was perceived that history does not grant the poet sufficient liberty, that fiction grants him too much, and that both are with difficulty reconciled to the nature of our theatrical exhibition. What, then, does that in fact require? An action which shall be probable, and frequently accompanied by the apparition of departed spirits, and the intervention of the gods. If you should choose a recent fact, it will be necessary to exclude the marvellous from your piece; and if you invent your subject, as it will neither be supported by the authority of history, nor

[s] Casaub. in Athen. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 301.
[t] Æschyl. in Pers. Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 21.
[x] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 9. p. 659.
[y] Dionys. Halic. de Art. Rhet. t. v. p. 301 et 355.
[z] Aristot. ibid.



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the prejudice of public opinion, you will risk offending against probability [a]. Hence it is that the subjects of our most excellent pieces are now taken from a small number of ancient families, as those of Alcmæon, Thyestes, Œdipus, Telephus, and some others, which formerly exhibited so many calamitous scenes [b].

*Nicephorus.* I must beg leave to tell you, with all due submission, that you are insupportably tiresome with your Agamemnons, your Orestes', your Œdipuses, and all your list of proscribed characters. Are you not ashamed to present to us subjects so trite and threadbare? I sometimes cannot but admire the sterility of your men of genius, and the patience of the Athenians.

*Theodectes.* You certainly are not serious; for you know well that we draw from an inexhaustible source. If we are obliged to pay a certain respect to received fables, it is only in some essential particulars: Clytæmnestra must indeed die by the hand of Orestes, and Eriphile by that of Alcmæon [c]; but the circumstances of the same fact vary in the ancient traditions [d], and the author may choose those which are most suitable to his plan. It is sufficient, also, that he introduces one or two known personages; the rest are entirely at his disposal [e]. Each subject offers innumerable varieties, and ceases to be the same when it is diversified by a new complication or a new development [f].

1. Variety in the fable, which may be simple or complex [g]. It is simple when the action continues and ends in one uniform manner, without its course being diverted or suspended by any accident; and complex when it turns on one of those discoveries which change the relations of the personages between themselves, or one of those revolutions which alter their condition, or by the union of both these.

[a] Corneille, 1er Discours sur le Poeme Dramat. p. 2.
[b] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 13. p. 662; cap. 14. p. 663.
Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 662.
[d] Schol. Argum. in Ajac. Sophocl.
[e] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 9. p. 659.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 18. Corneille, Discours ii. p. 53.
[g] Aristot. ibid. c. 10 et 11. p. 660.

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Here the merits of these two species of fable were discussed by the company, and it was agreed that the complex was to be preferred to the simple [h].

2. Variety in the incidents which excite terror and pity. If this double effect is produced by the sentiments of nature being so mistaken or opposed, that one of the characters risks the loss of life; then he who kills, or purposes to kill, may act in one of these four ways. 1. He may commit the crime with deliberate intention, the examples of which are frequent among the ancients. I shall adduce that of Medea, who in Euripides forms and executes the project of killing her children [i]; but her action is the more barbarous, because it is unnecessary. I believe that, at present, no writer would venture a similar incident. 2. The crime may not be discovered till after it is committed, as is the case in the Œdipus of Sophocles. Here the ignorance of the guilty person renders the action less odious, and the light which successively breaks in on him, heightens the interest. This method has our approbation. 3. The action sometimes proceeds to the very moment of execution, and suddenly stops short by an unexpected discovery. Thus Merope recognizes her son, and Iphigenia her brother, at the very moment when they are about to give the fatal blow. This mode is the most perfect of all.

*Polus.* In fact, when Merope holds the sword suspended over the head of her son, a general shuddering seems to seize the spectators [k], as I have myself frequently witnessed.

*Theodectes.* The fourth and the worst of all these ways is, when the person stops in the moment of executing his design, by a simple change of will. This method has scarcely ever been employed. Aristotle once mentioned to me the example of Hæmon, who draws his sword against Creon his father, and instead of executing his purpose, stabs himself [l].

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[h] Id. de Poet. cap. 13. p. 661.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 663.
[k] Plut. de Esu Carn. t. ii. p. 998.
[l] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 14. p. 663.



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*Nicephorus.* How was it poſſible for him to execute it? Creon, ſeized with fear, had fled [m].

*Theodectes.* His ſon might have purſued him.

*Polus.* Perhaps he only meant to kill himſelf in his father's preſence, as he ſeems to have threatened in one of the preceding ſcenes [n]; for, after all, Sophocles was too well acquainted with dramatic propriety, to think of making the virtuous Hæmon attempt the life of his father.

*Zopyrus.* Why ſhould he not? Do you not know that Hæmon was on the point of marrying Antigone whom he loved, and by whom he was beloved; that his father had condemned her to be buried alive; that unable to prevail on him by his tears and entreaties to reverſe the ſentence, he had found her dead, and threw himſelf at her feet in an agony of love and rage. Can it excite your indignation if, ſuddenly perceiving Creon, he ruſhes, not on his father, but on the murderer of his miſtreſs? Certainly if he did not vindictively purſue the wretched tyrant, it was becauſe he was in too much haſte to terminate a hated life.

*Theodectes.* Repreſent his action as more noble; ſay that his firſt emotion originated in fury and vengeance, but that which ſucceeded it in remorſe and virtue.

*Zopyrus.* Under whatever point of view I conſider it, I maintain that this incident is one of the moſt pathetic and ſublime on our ſtage; and if your friend Ariſtotle did not feel it to be ſo, it was probably becauſe he never felt the paſſion of love.

*Theodectes.* Amiable Zopyrus, beware leſt you betray the ſecrets of your heart. I am willing, from complaiſance to you, to reject this example; but let us ſtill retain the principle, that an atrocious action ought either not to be begun, or not abandoned without a motive. But let us continue to enumerate the ways in which a fable may be varied.

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[m] Soph. in Antigon v. 1248.

[n] Id. ibid. v. 672. Schol. ibid.

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3. Variety in the diſcoveries, which are one of the moſt copious ſources of the pathetic, eſpecially when they produce a ſudden revolution in the condition of the perſons of the drama [o]. Of theſe there are ſeveral kinds [p]: ſome, deſtitute of art, and too frequently made the reſource of indifferent poets, are founded on accidental or natural ſigns, as bracelets, necklaces, ſcars, or marks impreſſed on the body [*]; others diſplay invention. That of Dicæogenes, in his poem intituled the Cypriacs, is greatly praiſed. The hero ſeeing a picture deſcriptive of his misfortunes, ſheds tears, by which he is betrayed. Like commendation is beſtowed on that of Polyides, who, in his Iphigenia, makes Oreſtes exclaim, when about to be ſacrificed—"Thus was it my ſiſter Iphigenia was "ſacrificed in Aulis." The moſt beautiful ariſe out of the action. See the Œdipus of Sophocles, and the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides [q].

4. Variety in the characters. Thoſe of the perſonages, which are frequently brought on the ſtage, are in ſome meaſure fixed among us, but it is only in their general tenor. Achilles is impetuous and violent, Ulyſſes prudent and diſſimulating, Medea cruel and implacable; but all the qualities are capable of ſuch gradations and varieties, that, from one ſingle character, a number may be produced, which have only the leading features in common; ſuch is that of Electra [r], and that of Philoctetes [s], as pourtrayed, reſpectively, by Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The defects of Achilles may be exaggerated; but it is better to enfeeble them by the ſplendour of his virtues, as has been practiſed by Homer. By purſuing this method, the poet Agatho produced an Achilles which had never before been ſeen on the ſtage [t].

[o] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 11. p. 660.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 664.
[*] Ariſtotle mentions a diſcovery produced by a very ſtrange means, by the ſound of a ſhuttle (Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 16. p. 664). This was employed in the Tereus of Sophocles, a piece now loſt.
[q] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 16. p. 655.
[r] Æſchyl. in Choeph. Soph. et Euripid. in Electr.
[s] Dion Chryſoſt. orat. 52. p. 548.
[t] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 15. p. 664.



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5. Variety in the cataſtrophes. Some dramatic pieces conclude happily, and others diſaſtrouſly. There are ſome in which, by a double revolution, both the virtuous and the wicked experience a change of fortune. The firſt of theſe endings ſeems only ſuitable to comedy [u].

*Zopyrus.* Why ſhould it be excluded from tragedy? Excite the moſt paſſionate emotions through the whole of the piece; but at leaſt ſuffer me to reſpire at the concluſion, and let my heart receive that comfort which may reward its ſenſibility.

*Theodectes.* You wiſh me then to extinguiſh that tender intereſt by which you have been agitated, and that I ſhould ſtop thoſe tears which you have ſhed with ſo much pleaſure? The beſt recompence I can beſtow on your ſenſibility, is to continue as long as poſſible the emotions it has received. From thoſe moving ſcenes in which the author diſplays all the ſecrets of art and eloquence, only reſults a pathos of ſituation; and we wiſh a pathos which may ariſe from the action, increaſe from ſcene to ſcene, and agitate the ſoul of the ſpectator as often as he hears even the name of the piece.

*Zopyrus.* And can you not find this in thoſe tragedies in which the virtuous and the wicked experience a change of condition?

*Theodectes.* I have already hinted that the pleaſure which they procure us too nearly reſembles that which we receive from comedy. It is true that the ſpectators begin to approve of this double revolution, and that even ſome authors have aſſigned it the firſt rank: but I think it only deſerves to be placed in the ſecond; and I appeal to the experience of Polus, which are the pieces that are eſteemed truly tragic [x]?

*Polus.* In general, thoſe of which the cataſtrophe is calamitous.

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[u] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 662.

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 662.

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*Theodectes.* And permit me to aſk you, Anacharſis, what effects you experienced from the different deſtinies of the principal perſonage in our dramas.

*Anacharſis.* At firſt I ſhed tears profuſely, without inveſtigating their ſource. I afterward perceived that your fineſt pieces loſt a part of their intereſt at a ſecond repreſentation; but that this loſs was beyond compariſon more ſenſible in thoſe which terminated happily.

*Nicephorus.* It remains for me to aſk you how you can be reconciled with yourſelf. You would have the cataſtrophe calamitous, and yet you have preferred that revolution by which a man is ſnatched from misfortune, and placed in a more proſperous condition [y].

*Theodectes.* I have preferred the diſcovery which prevents the completion of an atrocious act; but I have not ſaid that it ought to be made the development of the plot. Oreſtes, when recognized by Iphigenia, is on the point of falling by the arms of Thoas [z]; and, when recognized by Electra, is perſecuted by the furies [a]. He has therefore only paſſed from one danger and one calamity to another. Euripides extricates him from this latter ſituation by the intervention of a divinity: an expedient which might be neceſſary in his Iphigenia in Tauris, but which was by no means ſo in his Oreſtes; the action of which would be more tragic if he had abandoned the aſſaſſins of Clytæmneſtra to the tortures of remorſe. But Euripides was fond of making the gods deſcend in machinery; and has but too frequently employed this groſs artifice to explain the ſubject, and develope the plot.

*Zopyrus.* Do you condemn the apparitions of the gods, which are ſo favourable to ſcenic decoration?

*Nicephorus.* And ſo convenient to the poet.

*Theodectes.* I would only permit them when it is neceſſary to derive from the paſt or future a light which can be obtain-

[y] Dacier, Poet. d'Ariſtote, p. 224. Victor, in Ariſtot.

[z] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur.

[a] Id. in Oreſt.

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ed by no other means [b]. Without ſuch a motive the prodigy does more honour to the machiniſt than the author.

Let the poet ever be guided by the laws of reaſon and the rules of probabilty. Let the fable be ſo conſtructed that it may explain itſelf, and become complicated and unravelled without effort. Let no celeſtial agent deſcend to inform us, in a frigid prologue, of events which have paſſed prior to the opening of the drama, or which are to happen in the ſequel. Let the knot, conſtituted by obſtacles that have preceded the action, be drawn cloſer and cloſer, till the moment when the cataſtrophe commences [c]; let the epiſodes be neither too long nor too numerous [d]; let the incidents rapidly ariſe out of each other, and produce unexpected events [e]; in a word, let the different parts of the action be ſo well connected, that if any one ſhould be taken away or tranſpoſed, the whole would be deſtroyed or changed [f]. Imitate not thoſe authors who are ignorant of the art of happily terminating an intrigue ingeniouſly complicated [g]; and who, after having imprudently ventured into the midſt of rocks, can find no other means to extricate themſelves but by imploring the ſuccour of heaven.

I have now pointed out the different ways in which the fable may be treated; to theſe may be added the innumerable varieties which the ſentiments, and eſpecially the muſic, preſent. Complain not, therefore, of the ſterility of our ſubjects; and remember, that to place them in a new light, is to invent.

*Nicephorus.* But you do not give them ſufficient animation. We are ſometimes tempted to ſay that you fear to inveſtigate the paſſions: if by accident you engage them in a conteſt with

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[b] Ariſtot. de Poet. c. 15. p. 664.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 664; cap. 18. p. 666.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 665; cap. 18. p. 666.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 658; cap. 9. p. 660. Corneille, Diſcours iii. p. 74.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 659.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 18. p. 666.

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each other, or an oppoſition to rigorous duties [h], you ſcarcely permit us a glimpſe of their inceſſant conflicts.

*Theodectes.* More than once we have ſeen the ſentiments of conjugal love [i], and thoſe of friendſhip [k], pourtrayed in the ſofteſt colours; and a hundred times beheld the furies of ambition [l], hatred [m], jealouſy [n], and revenge [o], depicted with a more vigorous pencil. Would you wiſh that on theſe occaſions we ſhould have been preſented with portraits, with analyſes of the human heart? Among us, every art and ſcience has its proper limits. We leave the theory of the paſſions to morals or rhetoric [p], and pay leſs attention to their inveſtigation than to their effects: for it is not man in general which we repreſent to the ſpectators, but the viciſſitudes of his life, and eſpecially the misfortunes to which he is expoſed [q]. Tragedy is ſo much the recital of an action proper to excite terror and pity, that many of our pieces conclude with theſe words of the chorus: "*Thus ends this adventure* [r]." If we conſider it under this point of view, we ſhall eaſily conceive that it is eſſential to expreſs the circumſtances which render the narrative more intereſting, and the cataſtrophe more calamitous; and it is ſtill more ſo to make every thing underſtood, rather than to ſay every thing. This is the manner of Homer. He does not give the detail of the ſentiments which unite Achilles and Patroclus; but at the death of the latter they are manifeſted by torrents of tears, and burſt on the reader like thunder.

*Zopyrus.* I ſhall always regret that the tendereſt and moſt forcible of all the paſſions has hitherto been neglected. All the fires of love blaze in the heart of Phædra, but diffuſe no warmth in the tragedy of Euripides [s]. Yet what a rich ſuc-

[h] Euripid. in Oreſt.
[i] Id. in Alceſt.
[k] Id. in Oreſt.
[l] Id. in Phœniſſ.
[m] Soph. in Philoct. et in Ajac.
[n] Eurip. in Med.
[o] Æſchyl. in Agamem.
[p] Ariſtot. de Mor. Id. de Rhet.
[q] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. p. 657.
[r] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 1163.; in Androm. v. 1288.; in Helen. v. 1708.; in Med. v. 1419.
[s] Id. in Hippol.



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ceſſion of ſcenes would the firſt birth of this love, its progreſs, agitations, and remorſe, preſent to the pencil of the poet! We have ſpoken of the love of Hæmon for Antigone [t]. Why is not this ſentiment made the principal motive of the action? What conflicts muſt it not have excited in the hearts of the father and of the two lovers! What various duties were there to reſpect, what misfortunes to fear!

*Theodectes.* The paintings which you regret would be as dangerous to morals as unworthy of a theatre, which only attends to great events and elevated ſentiments. Never, in the heroic ages, did love produce any of thoſe revolutions which diſtinguiſh tragedy.

*Zopyrus.* Have you forgotten the war of Troy?

*Theodectes.* It was not the loſs of Helen which armed the Greeks againſt the Trojans. Menelaus engaged in the war from the neceſſity of avenging a flagrant injury; and the other princes in conſequence of the oath they had before taken to ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of his queen [u]. They therefore beheld, in this perfidy of love, only inſulted honour.

Love, properly, only preſents little intrigues, the diſplay of which we leave to comedy; and ſighs, tears, and frailties, to expreſs which is the province of the lyric poets. If at any time it exhibits more elevated traits of nobility and grandeur, it is indebted for them to vengeance, ambition, or jealouſy; three powerful ſprings, which we have never neglected to employ.

### THIRD CONVERSATION.

In this were diſcuſſed the manners, thoughts, ſentiments, and ſtyle which are proper for tragedy.

In all imitative works, ſaid Theodectes, but eſpecially in the poem, whether epic or dramatic, what is called the man-

[t] Soph. in Antig.

[u] Eurip. Iphig. in Aulid. v. 58.



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ners is the exact conformity of the actions, ſentiments, thoughts, and language of the perſonage, with his character. It is neceſſary, therefore, that, from the very firſt ſcenes, we ſhould be able to diſcover, from what he does and what he ſays, the nature of his preſent inclinations, and his ultimate deſigns [x].

The manners characterize the perſon in action [y]. They ſhould be good. Far from exaggerating any defect, be careful to enfeeble it. Poetry, like painting, embelliſhes the portrait without neglecting the reſemblance. Do not deform the character of a perſonage, not even a ſubaltern one, unleſs you are conſtrained. In a piece of Euripides [z], Menelaus acts a reprehenſible part, becauſe he does evil without neceſſity [a].

The manners muſt alſo be proper, reſembling, and uniform; they muſt be ſuitable to the age and dignity of the perſon; they muſt not be contrary to the idea of the hero delivered down to us by ancient traditions; nor muſt they be inconſiſtent in any part of the piece.

Would you wiſh to give them boldneſs and luſtre, contraſt them with each other. Obſerve how, in Euripides, the character of Polynices is rendered intereſting by that of Eteocles his brother [b]; and, in Sophocles, the character of Electra by that of Chryſothemis her ſiſter [c].

We ought, like the orators, to inſpire our judges with pity, terror, or indignation; like them to demonſtrate a truth or refute an objection, to aggrandize or diminiſh an object [d]. You will find the precepts neceſſary to attain this end in the treatiſes that have been publiſhed on rhetoric, and examples in the tragedies that are the ornaments of our theatre. In them we ſee beauty of thought and elevation of ſentiment in

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[x] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. p. 657.; cap. 15. p. 653.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656.
[z] Eurip. in Oreſt.
[a] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 15. p. 663.
[b] Euripid. in Phœniſſ.
[c] Soph. in Electr.
[d] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 19. p. 667. Corneille, Diſcours i. p. 21.

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all their luſtre; in them triumph the language of truth, and the eloquence of the unfortunate. Behold Merope, Hecuba, Electra, Antigone, Ajax, Philoctetes, ſurrounded ſometimes by the horrors of death, and ſometimes plunged in ſhame or deſpair—liſten to thoſe accents of grief, thoſe piercing exclamations, thoſe paſſionate expreſſions, which, from one end of the theatre to the other, make the voice of Nature reſound in every heart, and compel all eyes to diſſolve in tears.

To what are theſe admirable effects to be aſcribed? To the art which our authors poſſeſs, in a ſovereign degree, of placing their characters in the moſt moving ſituations, taking themſelves their place in imagination, and indulging without reſerve in the ſingle and profound ſentiment which the circumſtances inſpire.

You can never ſtudy too much our great models. Poſſeſs yourſelf perfectly of their beauties; but eſpecially learn to judge of them aright, and let not a ſervile admiration induce you to reverence their errors. Fear not to condemn this reaſoning of Jocaſta:—Her two ſons had agreed to aſcend alternately the throne of Thebes: but, at the expiration of the time fixed, Eteocles refuſed to reſign his authority; and, to induce him to make this important ceſſion, the queen repreſents to him, among other things, that equality formerly inſtituted weights and meaſures, and has at all times regulated the periodical ſucceſſion of days and nights [c].

Sentences which are clear, preciſe, and naturally introduced, are greatly to the taſte of the Athenians; but it is neceſſary to be attentive in the choice of them, as they reject with indignation the maxims which are deſtructive of morality.

*Polus.* And frequently without reaſon. It was imputed as a crime to Euripides, that he had put in the mouth of Hip-

[c] Euripid. in Phœniſſ. p. 544.

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polytus theſe words: "My tongue has pronounced the oath, "but my heart diſavows it [f]." Yet they are ſuitable to the circumſtances; and the enemies of the poet falſely accuſed him of intending them for a general principle. At another time the audience roſe, to drive from the ſtage the actor who performed the part of Bellerophon; and who, ſuitably to the ſpirit of the character, had ſaid that riches are to be preferred to every thing elſe. The piece was on the point of being condemned, when Euripides came forwards. He was ordered to expunge the line. He replied, that it was his part to give leſſons to, and not to receive them from, the audience [g]; but that, if they would have the patience to wait, they would ſoon ſee Bellerophon undergo the puniſhment he had merited [h]. When his Ixion was acted, ſeveral perſons who were ſpectators, ſaid to him, after the repreſentation, that his hero was too vile a character. For which reaſon, anſwered he, I have concluded the piece by faſtening him to a wheel [i].

Though the ſtyle of tragedy be no longer ſo pompous as it formerly was [k], it muſt nevertheleſs be ſuitable to the dignity of the ideas. Employ the charms of elocution to ſhade over improbabilities which you are forced to admit; but if you have thoughts to expreſs, or characters to paint, beware not to obſcure them by ſuperfluous ornaments [l]. Avoid mean expreſſions [m]. Each ſpecies of the drama has its particular ſtyle, and diſtinct colours [n]; and it is through ignorance of this rule that the language of Cleophon and Sthenelus aproaches too near to that of comedy [o].

*Nicephorus.* I can diſcover another cauſe: the ſpecies of compoſition you cultivate is ſo artificial, and ours ſo natural,

[f] Euripid. in Hippol v. 612. Schol. ibid. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 602. Cicer. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 29. t. iii p. 289.

[g] Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7. Extern. No. i.

[h] Senec. Epiſt. 115.

[i] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 19.

[k] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584, D.

[l] Id. de Poet. cap. 24. p. 672, E.

[m] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 158. Caſaub. ibid. p. 180.

[n] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 650.

[o] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 590. Id. de Poet. cap. 22. p. 669.

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that you are every moment forced to pass from the former to the latter, and borrow our thoughts, sentiments, pleasantries, and expressions. In proof of this, I shall only cite the most respectable authorities, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides playing on words, and making insipid allusions to the names of their characters [p]. The second of these poets puts in the mouth of Ajax these extraordinary words: "Ai! ai! "what a fatal conformity is there between the name which I "bear and the misfortunes I experience [q] *!"

*Theodectes.* It was then a universal opinion that the names given us presage the destiny that awaits us [r]; and you know that in misfortune it is necessary to lay the blame on something as a cause.

*Nicephorus.* But how is it possible to excuse in your authors their fondness for false etymologies, and a play on words [s]; their frigid metaphors [t], insipid pleasantries [u], and indecent images [x]; their sarcasms against women [y], the intermixture of low comedy in their scenes [z], and those frequent examples of unpolished manners or disgusting familiarity [a]? How can we endure, for example, that a subject, a domestic, when pressed by Deianira, his mistress and sovereign, to reveal to her a secret, should reply, that he must be a fool to listen to her longer; and that, since she is so fond of talking, she may amuse herself by asking him again [b]? Or what must we think also, when, instead of being simply informed of the death of that princess, we are told that she has just ended her last jour-

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[p] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 690. Eurip. in Phœn. v. 639 et 1500. Id. in Troad v. 990. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 579.

[q] Soph. in Ajac. v. 430.

* *Ai* is the beginning of the name Aias, which the Greeks pronounced Ajax, and is also an interjectional exclamation of grief.

[r] Soph. ibid. v. 926. Euripid. in Bacch. v. 308.

[s] Eschyl. in Pers. v. 769. Euripid. ibid. v. 367.

[t] Hermog. de Form. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 285.

[u] Soph. ibid. v. 1146.

[x] Eurip. in Hecub. v. 570. Soph. in Trachin. v. 31. Hermog. de Invent. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 227.

[y] Eurip. in Hippol. v. 616; in Androm. v. 85.

[z] Eurip. in Orest. v. 1506. Æschyl. in Agam. v. 864 et 924.

[a] Soph. in Antig. v. 325 et 567. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 750. &c.

[b] Id. in Trach. v. 419.

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ney without making a ſingle ſtep [c]? Is it ſuitable to the dignity of tragedy that children ſhould pour forth the groſſeſt invective and ridicule on the authors of their being [d]; or that Antigone ſhould aſſure us ſhe would ſacrifice a huſband or a ſon to her brother, becauſe ſhe might have another ſon or another huſband, but having loſt her parents ſhe never could have another brother [e]?

I am not ſurpriſed at ſeeing Ariſtophanes curſorily glance a ſatirical ſtroke at the means by which Æſchylus has brought about the diſcovery of Oreſtes and Electra [f]; but ought Euripides to have parodied and turned this ſame incident into ridicule in the manner he has done [g]? I appeal to the opinion of Polus.

*Polus.* I confeſs that I have more than once been ready to imagine I was acting comedy in the tragic maſk. To the examples you have juſt produced, permit me to add two others from Sophocles and Euripides.

The former, having taken for the ſubject of one of his tragedies the metamorphoſis of Tereus and Procne, indulges in ſeveral pleaſantries againſt that prince, who, as well as Procne, appears under the form of a bird [h].

The latter, in one of his pieces, introduces a ſhepherd, who believes he has ſomewhere ſeen the name of Theſeus. He is queſtioned concerning it. "I cannot read," replies he; "but I will deſcribe the form of the letters. The firſt is a ring with a dot in the middle *; the ſecond is made by two upright lines, joined by a croſs line:" and ſo he proceeds with the reſt. Obſerve, that this enigmatical deſcription of the

[c] Id. ibid. v. 888.

[d] Eurip. in Alceſt. v. 629. Soph. in Antig. v. 746 et 752.

[e] Soph. in Antig. v. 921. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap 16. t. ii. p. 603.

[f] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 223. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 534. Schol. ibid.

[g] Eurip. in Electr. v. 520.

[h] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 100. Schol. ibid.

* Euripides in this piece deſcribed the form of the ſix Greek letters which compoſe the name Theſeus, ΘΗΣΕΥΣ.



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name of Theſeus had ſuch ſucceſs, that Agatho ſoon after gave a ſecond, which he no doubt believed to be more elegant [i].

*Theodectes.* I ſcarcely dare to confeſs that I ſhall riſk a third in a tragedy which I am preparing [k]. This ſpecies of wit pleaſes the multitude; and as we cannot bring them to our taſte, we muſt accommodate our works to theirs. Our beſt writers have been ſubjected to this yoke, and the faults you have juſt pointed out clearly prove they were unable to ſhake it off. There are other faults which may be excuſed. By taking their ſcenes in the heroic ages, they have been forced to paint manners different from thoſe of the preſent times; and while they wiſhed to approach nature, they were obliged to paſs from the ſimple to the familiar, the limits of which are not ſufficiently diſtinct. With leſs genius, we are expoſed to ſtill greater riſks. The art is become more difficult. On the one hand, the public, ſatiated with the beauties to which it has been long accuſtomed, abſurdly requires that an author ſhould unite the abilities of all the writers who have preceded him [l]; and, on the other, the actors inceſſantly complain that they have not parts ſufficiently brilliant. They compel us ſometimes to extend and do violence to the ſubject, and ſometimes to deſtroy the connection of the parts [m]. Frequently their negligence and want of ability are ſufficient to cauſe a piece to fail. Polus will pardon me this cenſure: to venture it in his preſence, is to pronounce his eulogium.

*Polus.* I am entirely of your opinion, and ſhall relate to Zopyrus the danger to which the Oreſtes of Euripides was formerly expoſed. In that beautiful ſcene in which the young prince, after a fit of madneſs, recovers his reaſon, the actor Hegelochus, not having properly managed his breath, was obliged to ſeparate two words, which, according as they are pronounced with an eliſion or not, give two very different

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[i] Euripid. in Theſ. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 20. p. 454.
[k] Athen. ibid.
[l] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 18. p. 666.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 659.

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meanings; ſo that, inſtead of ſaying, *After the ſtorm I ſee a calm*; he ſaid, *After the ſtorm I ſee a cat* *. You may eaſily judge of the effect produced by ſuch a miſtake in this intereſting moment: it excited loud burſts of laughter among the audience, and gave occaſion to many ſarcaſtic epigrams on the poet and the actor [n].

## FOURTH CONVERSATION.

In the fourth converſation were diſcuſſed ſome articles which had not before been conſidered. It was obſerved—1. That, in almoſt all the ſcenes, the anſwers and replies are made from verſe to verſe [o], which renders the dialogue extremely lively and conciſe, but ſometimes not quite ſo natural. 2. That Pylades ſays only three words in a piece of Æſchylus [p], and not one in the Electra of Sophocles, nor in that of Euripides; that other perſons of the drama, though preſent, continue ſilent through ſeveral ſcenes, either from exceſs of grief or haughtineſs of character [q]. 3. That allegorical perſonages are ſometimes introduced, as Strength, Force [r], Death [s], and Phrenzy [t]. 4. That the choruſes of Sophocles make a part of the action; but that the greater number of thoſe of Euripides are but ſlightly connected with it; that thoſe of Agatho are entirely detached; and that, after the example of this latter poet, no ſcruple is at preſent made to inſert in the interludes fragments of poetry and muſic which make us loſe ſight of the ſubject [u].

After the company had declared againſt theſe abuſes, I aſked whether tragedy might be conſidered as having attained to perfection. All exclaimed, at once, that certain pieces

* See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Euripid. in Oreſt. v. 279. Schol. ibid. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 306. Schol. ibid.

[o] Poll. l. 4. c. 17. § 113. Æſchyl. Euripid. Sophocl. paſſim.

[p] Æſchyl in Choeph. v. 900.

[q] Schol. Æſchyl. in Prom. v. 435. Hecub. ap. Euripid. ℣. 486.

[r] Æſchyl. in Prom.

[s] Euripid. in Alceſt.

[t] Id. in Herc. Fur.

[u] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 665.



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would leave nothing more to wish, if they were freed from the blemishes by which they were disfigured, and which were not inherent in their construction. But, as I reminded them that Aristotle had hesitated with respect to this question [x], it was examined more attentively, and doubts began to multiply.

Some maintained that the theatre is too spacious, and the number of spectators too considerable; from which, said they, two inconveniences arise. Authors are obliged to comply with the taste of an ignorant multitude; and the actors to exhaust themselves by straining their voices, though still they are in danger of not being heard by a part of the assembly. It was therefore proposed that the theatre should be made less, and the price of the places raised, that they might only be filled by persons of the better class. But to this it was replied, that such a project could neither be reconciled to the nature nor the interests of the government. It is only, added they, for the sake of the multitude and foreigners, that our theatrical exhibitions are celebrated with such magnificence. The plan now suggested, would, on the one hand, destroy that equality which ought to subsist among the citizens; and, on the other, deprive us of those sums of money which strangers expend in this city during our festivals.

The objectors answered: Why should not the choruses and the music be suppressed, as has been begun to be done in comedy? The chorus compels authors continually to offend against probability. The personages of the piece must be brought, by force or consent, to the vestibule of a palace, or some other open place, to reveal their most important secrets, or discourse on affairs of state in the presence of a number of witnesses, frequently assembled there without any motive. There must Medea publish the fearful mischiefs she meditates, and Phædra declare a passion which she wishes to conceal even from herself. Alcestis, when dying, must cause herself to be

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 655.

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conveyed thither to render up her last breath. As to the music, it is absurd to suppose that men overwhelmed with grief should act, speak, and even die, singing.

Without the chorus, replied their opponents, there would no longer be any motion on the theatre, or majesty in the spectacle. It increases the interest during the scenes, and preserves it during the interludes. They added, that the people would never consent to give up the charms of the music; and that to adopt the present change, would be to destroy the nature of tragedy.

Let us beware, said Nicephorus, not to despoil it of its ornaments; it would lose too much. But let us at least give it a more noble purpose; and, after the example of comedy——

*Theodectes.* Let it make us laugh?

*Nicephorus.* No; but let it instruct us.

*Theodectes.* And who will dare to say it does not? Is not the soundest morality inculcated by the maxims contained in our tragedies?

*Nicephorus.* But is it not continually contradicted by the action itself? Hippolytus, informed of the love of Phædra[7], thinks himself polluted by the horrible secret, and yet, nevertheless, he perishes. What a fatal lesson for youth! It was in consequence of the example of the comic writers that you formerly undertook to display the vices of the administration. But how different was your mode from ours! We loaded with ridicule the guilty orators of the state, while you heavily dwelt on the abuses of eloquence[8]. We sometimes told the Athenians harsh but salutary truths; you flattered them, and still continue to flatter them, with an effrontery at which you ought to blush[9].

*Theodectes.* By cherishing their hatred against despotism, we attach them to the democracy; by exhibiting to them the piety, beneficence, and other virtues of their ancestors, we

[7] Eurip. in Hipp. v. 655.
[8] Id. in Orest. v. 905. Valck. Diatrib. in Euripid. cap. 23. p. 250.
[9] Euripid. in Helen. in Heracl.



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place before them models for their imitation: we nouriſh their vanity, to inſpire them with a ſenſe of honour. There is no ſubject which does not teach them to ſupport their misfortunes, and to guard againſt the errors by which they may be brought on them.

*Nicephorus.* I ſhould agree with you, if the inſtruction were derived from the eſſence of the action itſelf; if you baniſhed from the ſtage thoſe calamities which are hereditary in a family; if man were never repreſented culpable without being criminal, nor unfortunate but by the abuſe of his paſſions; if the villain were always puniſhed, and the virtuous man conſtantly rewarded.

But, ſo long as you ſhall be enſlaved by your forms, expect nothing from your efforts. It is neceſſary either to correct the vicious ground-work of your ſcandalous hiſtories, or to employ your talents, as you have ſometimes done, on ſubjects which are the offspring of your imagination. I know not whether the plans of ſuch works would be ſuſceptible of more learned combinations; but I know well that their morality might be rendered more pure and inſtructive.

All who were preſent applauded this idea, without even excepting Theodectes, who nevertheleſs conſtantly maintained, that, in the preſent ſtate of things, tragedy had as beneficial an influence on manners as comedy. Diſciple of Plato, ſaid Polus, turning to me, what would your maſter, and the great ſage of whom he was the ſcholar, have thought of the diſpute that has ariſen between Theodectes and Nicephorus? I anſwered, that they would have condemned the pretenſions of both; and that the philoſophers could not ſee without indignation that maſs of obſcenities and perſonalities which polluted the ancient comedy.

Let us recollect, replied Nicephorus, the circumſtances of the times. Pericles had impoſed ſilence on the Areopagus: manners would have had no reſource, if our authors had not had the courage to exerciſe the public cenſure.

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There is no courage, replied I, in being malevolent, when malevolence is certain to pass unpunished. Let us compare the two tribunals of which you have spoken. I behold, in that of the Areopagus, upright, virtuous, and discreet judges, who regret to find the accused guilty, and do not punish him till he is convicted: in the other, I see writers who are passionate, furious, and sometimes suborned; every where seeking victims to immolate to the public malignity; imagining crimes, exaggerating vices, and offering the most cruel injury to virtue, by lavishing the same invectives against the villain and the virtuous man.

What a strange reformer was that Aristophanes, who of all the comic poets possessed the most wit and genius, was best acquainted with the true style of humour, and most indulged in a ferocious pleasantry! It has been said that he only composed his works in the delirium of intoxication [b]; but it was rather in that of hatred and revenge. If his enemies are exempt from vices, he attacks them on their birth, their poverty, or their personal defects. How many times did he not reproach Euripides with being the son of a woman who sold herbs [c]! He possessed the qualities requisite to give pleasure to persons of merit; but many of his pieces seem only designed to please those who are addicted to every kind of debauchery, and sunk in the blackest infamy [d].

*Nicephorus.* I renounce Aristophanes when his pleasantries degenerate into licentious satire; but I admire him, when, penetrated with a sense of the evils that have befallen his country, he attacks those who have misled it by their counsels [e]; and when, with this view, he spares neither the orators, the generals, the senate, nor the multitude itself. From this he derived renown which extended into distant countries. The king of Persia said to the ambassadors from Lacedæmon,

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[b] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 429.
[c] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 19. Id. in Acharn. v. 477.
[d] Id. in Equit. v. 1275. Plut. in Compar. Aristoph. t. ii. p. 854.
[e] Id. in Ran. v. 698.



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that the Athenians would ſoon be maſters of Greece, if they would only follow the advice of that poet [f].

*Anacharſis.* But of what importance is the teſtimony of a king of Perſia? or what confidence can an author merit, who knows not, or pretends not to know, that guilt is not to be attacked by ridicule [g], and that a portrait ceaſes to be odious as ſoon as it is exhibited with burleſque features? We do not laugh at the ſight of a tyrant or a villain; nor ought we to laugh at his image, under whatever form it may be preſented. Ariſtophanes painted in ſtrong colours the inſolence and rapine of Cleon, whom he hated, and who was at the head of the republic; but groſs and diſguſting buffooneries in a moment deſtroyed all the effect of his portrait. Cleon, in ſome ſcenes of the moſt farcical kind, overcome by a man of the dregs of the people, who diſputes with him, and carries off the palm of impudence, was too groſsly degraded to be rendered contemptible. What was the conſequence? The multitude laughed at his expence; as, in other pieces of the ſame author, they had laughed at the expence of Hercules and Bacchus: but when they left the theatre, they ran to proſtrate themſelves before Bacchus, Hercules, and Cleon.

The ſarcaſms of the poet on the Athenians, though not of more effectual utility, were more moderate. Beſides that ſuch a kind of licence was eaſily pardoned, when it did not attack the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, Ariſtophanes accompanied his ſatire with artful correctives. This people, ſaid he, act without reflection or conſiſtency; they are ſevere, choleric [h], and inſatiably greedy of praiſe. In their aſſemblies, they reſemble an old man who underſtands with half a word [i], yet ſuffers himſelf to be led like a child who is enticed by a cake; but in every other place they abound in wit and good ſenſe [k]. They know when they are deceived, and patiently bear with

f. Id. in Acharn. v. 638.
g Cicer. Orat. cap. 26. t. i. p. 441. Plut. de Adul. & Amic. t. ii. p. 68.
h. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 40.
i Id. ibid. v. 46.
k Id. ibid. v. 750.

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impoſition for ſome time; but at length rectify their error, and puniſh thoſe who have abuſed their goodneſs [l]. The old man, flattered by the eulogium, laughed at his faults; and after having derided his gods, his rulers, and himſelf, continued to be, as he had been before, ſuperſtitious, a dupe, and fickle.

An exhibition ſo full of indecency and malignity could not but give offence to the wiſeſt and moſt enlightened perſons in the republic. They were ſo far from conſidering it as the ſupport of manners, that Socrates would never be preſent at the performance of comedies [m], and that the law forbade the Areopagites to compoſe any [n].

Here Theodectes exclaimed, The cauſe is ended; and immediately aroſe. Stay, cried Nicephorus; we now proceed to a deciſion on your authors. What ſhould I fear? ſaid Theodectes. Socrates ſaw with pleaſure the pieces of Euripides [o]; he eſteemed Sophocles [p]; and we have always been on good terms with the philoſophers. As I ſat next to him, I ſaid to him, in a whiſper, You are very generous. He ſmiled, and made another attempt to withdraw, but was prevented; and I ſaw myſelf obliged to continue my diſcourſe, which I addreſſed to Theodectes.

Socrates and Plato rendered juſtice to the talents, as well as to the probity of your beſt writers; but they accuſed them of having, after the example of the other poets, degraded the gods and heroes. On the firſt head, in fact, you will not venture to vindicate them. All virtue, all morality is deſtroyed, when the objects of public worſhip, more vicious, unjuſt, and cruel, even than men, ſpread ſnares for innocence, to render it miſerable; and impel to guilt, that they may inflict puniſhment. Comedy, which expoſes ſuch divinities to public ridicule, is leſs deſerving cenſure than tragedy, which preſents them to our veneration.

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[l] Id ibid. v. 1122 et 1352.
[m] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap 13.
[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348.
[o] Ælian. ibid.
[p] Socr. ap. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 725.

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*Zopyrus.* It would be eaſy to beſtow on them a more auguſt character. But what can be added to that of the heroes of Æſchylus and Sophocles?

*Anacharſis.* A grandeur more real and conſtant. I ſhall endeavour to explain my idea. When we obſerve the changes that have taken place among you ſince your civilization, we ſeem to diſtinguiſh three kinds of men which have only general relations to each other: the man of nature, ſuch as he ſtill appeared in the heroic ages; the man of art, ſuch as he at preſent is; and the man which philoſophy has, for ſome time paſt, undertaken to form.

The firſt, without refinement or fiction, but carrying both his virtues and his frailties to exceſs, has no fixed meaſure: he is too great or too little. This is the man of tragedy.

The ſecond, having loſt the noble and generous features which diſtinguiſhed the former, no longer knows either what he is, or what he wiſhes to be. We behold in him only a ridiculous aſſemblage of forms which attach him more to appearances than reality; and diſſimulation ſo frequently repeated, that he ſeems to borrow even the qualities which he poſſeſſes. His whole reſource is to act comedy; and he is, in his turn, made the object of comedy.

The third is modelled after new proportions. His reaſon preſerves a ſuperiority over his paſſions, and gives him a vigorous and uniform character. He follows, unmoved, the courſe of events, and permits them not to drag him bound like a vile ſlave. He is unable to determine whether the calamities of life are to be conſidered as a good or an evil; he only knows that they are a conſequence of that general order to which it is his duty to contribute. His enjoyments are not followed by remorſe; he finiſhes his courſe in ſilence, and beholds death ſlowly advance, without diſmay.

*Zopyrus.* But does he not feel a keen affliction when he is deprived of a father, a ſon, a wife, or a friend?



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*Anacharsis.* He feels a natural pang: but, faithful to his principles, he resists his grief [q], and neither in public nor private suffers tears and fruitless exclamations to escape him.

*Zopyrus.* These tears and exclamations would give ease to his heart.

*Anacharsis.* They would render it effeminate. His passions would once have obtained the mastery, and would dispose him to be still more subjected to them in future. Observe, in fact, that his soul is, as it were, divided into two parts [r]: the one, ever in motion, and ever requiring to be impassioned, prefers the lively attacks of grief to the insupportable torment of rest; the other is only employed to curb the impetuosity of the former, and to procure a calm which the tumult of the senses and the passions may be unable to disturb. But it is not this system of internal peace which the tragic authors wish to establish. They will not choose for their principal character a wise man ever consistent with himself: such a character would be too difficult to imitate, and would not make a forcible impression on the multitude. They address themselves to the more sensible and blind part of the soul, which they agitate and torment; and, filling it with terror and pity, compel it to satiate itself with tears and complaints, for which it has, if I may so speak, an eager appetite [s].

What indeed can we hereafter hope from a man, who, from his infancy, has been continually exercised in fears and pusillanimity? How may he be induced to imagine that it is cowardice to sink beneath misfortunes, when he continually beholds Hercules and Achilles give vent to their grief with cries, complaints, and groans; and when he every day sees a whole people honour with their tears the state of degradation to which calamity has reduced those heroes who were before invincible [t]?

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[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 603.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 605, 606.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 606.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 605.

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No; philoſophy can never be reconciled with tragedy; the one continually deſtroys the work of the other. The former exclaims to the unfortunate, in a ſtern tone: Meet the tempeſt with a ſerene brow; remain erect and tranquil amid the ruins which beat upon thee on all ſides; reverence the hand which cruſhes thee, and ſuffer without a murmur: ſuch is the law of wiſdom [u]. Tragedy, with a more moving and perſuaſive voice, cries to him, in her turn: Soliciſt conſolations, rend your garments, roll yourſelf in the duſt, weep, and give the moſt plaintive utterance to your grief; for ſuch is the law of nature.

Nicephorus triumphed: he concluded from theſe reflections, that comedy, by being improved, might approach nearer to philoſophy, and that tragedy muſt depart from it ſtill more. A malicious ſmile, that eſcaped him at the moment, ſo irritated young Zopyrus, that, ſuddenly paſſing the bounds of moderation, he ſaid that I had only given the ſentiments of Plato, and that his chimerical ideas ought not to have more authority than the enlightened judgment of the Athenians, and eſpecially of the Athenian ladies, who have always preferred tragedy to comedy [x]. He proceeded to inveigh againſt a drama, which, after the efforts of two centuries, was not yet purified from its original vices. I am acquainted, ſaid he to Nicephorus, with your moſt celebrated writers; and have juſt read, a ſecond time, all the pieces of Ariſtophanes, except that intituled the Birds, the ſubject of which diſguſted me in the very firſt ſcenes. I maintain it is unworthy of the reputation he has acquired. Without mentioning the offenſive and acrimonious wit, and the infamous malignity with which his writings abound, how are they filled with obſcure thoughts and inſipid puns; and how unequal is their ſtyle [y]!

[u] Id. ibid. p. 604.
[x] Ulpian. in Demoſth. p. 681. Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 658.
[y] Plut. in Compar. Ariſtoph. et Menand. t. ii. p. 853 et 854.

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But let me add, said Theodectes, interrupting him, how elegant, how pure, is his diction; how acute are his pleasantries; what truth, what warmth in his dialogue; what poetry in his choruses! Young man, do not become supercilious to appear judicious; and remember that to attach ourselves in preference to the extravagance of genius, frequently only shows a vice in the heart, or a defect in the mind. Because a great man does not admire every thing, it will not follow that he who admires nothing is a great man. These authors, whose merits you estimate before you have considered your own, abound in defects and beauties that resemble the irregularities of Nature, which, notwithstanding the imperfections our ignorance may discover in her works, appears not less great to attentive eyes.

Aristophanes well understood that species of raillery which in his age was pleasing to the Athenians, and that which must please in every age. His writings contain within them the germ of true comedy, and the models of the best comic style, and can only be surpassed by the poet who has an intimate feeling of their beauties [z]. Of this you would have been convinced by the perusal of the allegorical piece you mentioned, had you had patience to finish it; for it abounds with original strokes. Permit me to give you a slight idea of some of the scenes which it contains.

Pisthetærus and another Athenian, to avoid the law-suits and dissensions which give them a disgust for Athens, retire to the regions of the birds, and persuade them to build a city in the midst of the air. The first labours are to be accompanied by the sacrifice of a goat; but the ceremonies are interrupted by several troublesome persons, who arrive successively to seek their fortune in the new city. The first of these is a poet, who sings these words [a]: Celebrate muse, celebrate the

[z] Schol. Vit. Aristoph. in Proleg. p. 14.

[a] Aristoph. in Av. v. 905.

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fortunate Nephelococcygiæ †. Pisthetærus asks him his name, and from what country he comes. I am, answers he, to borrow the expression of Homer, the humble servant of the muses; my lips distil the honey of harmony.

PISTHETÆRUS....

What brings you hither?

THE POET.

The rival of Simonides, I have composed sacred songs of every kind, for all ceremonies, and all in honour of this new city, which I will never cease to sing. O Father! O founder of Ætna! cause to flow on me the source of the blessings which I wish to accumulate on your head. (*This is a parody of some verses which Pindar had addressed to Hiero king of Syracuse.*)

PISTHETÆRUS.

This fellow will torment me till I give him something. Hark you (*To his slave*): Give him your cloak, but not your coat. (*To the Poet*) Take this garment; you seem half dead with cold!

THE POET.

My muse receives your gifts with gratitude. Now listen to these verses of Pindar. (*Then follows another parody, in which he asks for the slave's coat. He at length obtains it, and goes off singing.*)

PISTHETÆRUS.

At last I am happily delivered from the frigidity of his verses. Who would have thought that such a plague would have been introduced among us so soon [b]? But let us finish our sacrifice.

PRIEST.

Keep silence.

(*Enter a soothsayer, with a book in his hand.*)

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† This is the name given to the new city. It signifies the city of the birds in the region of the clouds.

[b] Aristoph. in Av. v. 957.

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SOOTHSAYER.

Touch not the victim.

PISTHETÆRUS.

Why, who are you?

SOOTHSAYER.

An interpreter of oracles.

PISTHETÆRUS.

So much the worse for you.

SOOTHSAYER.

Beware, and reverence sacred things. I bring you an oracle of importance to this new city.

PISTHETÆRUS.

You should have brought it me sooner.

SOOTHSAYER.

The gods did not permit.

PISTHETÆRUS.

Well, what does it say?

SOOTHSAYER.

"When the wolves shall dwell with the crows in the plain which separates Sicyon from Corinth *——"

PISTHETÆRUS.

What are the Corinthians to me?

SOOTHSAYER.

It is a mysterious image. The oracle thus describes the aërial region in which we are. But hear what follows: you shall sacrifice a he-goat to the earth, and give to him who shall first explain to you our will, an elegant robe and a new pair of shoes.

PISTHETÆRUS.

What! are the shoes mentioned in the oracle?

SOOTHSAYER.

There read. (*He continues reading.*) Also a flagon of wine, and a portion of the entrails of the victim.

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* There was a celebrated oracle which began with these words. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. p. 969.

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PISTHETÆRUS.

Are the entrails there too?

SOOTHSAYER.

Read, read.—If thou perform my commands, you ſhall be as much exalted above mortals as the eagle is above other birds.

PISTHETÆRUS.

Is that there too?

SOOTHSAYER.

Read, read.

PISTHETÆRUS.

I have in my tablets an oracle which I have received from Apollo. It differs a little from yours: it runs thus: When any one, without being invited, ſhall have the impudence to come among you, diſturb you when ſacrificing, and demand a portion of the victim, you ſhall not fail to cudgel him well.

SOOTHSAYER.

You jeſt, ſurely!

PISTHETÆRUS. (*preſenting him his tablets*).

There, read. Were he an eagle, were he one of the moſt illuſtrious impoſtors of Athens, ſtrike and ſpare him not.

SOOTHSAYER.

Is that there too?

PISTHETÆRUS.

Read, read—Begone, and carry your oracles elſewhere.

No ſooner is he gone than the aſtronomer Meton appears, who, with his rule and compaſſes in his hand, propoſes to lay out the new city, and talks in a ridiculous manner. At preſent, as the merit of Meton is generally acknowledged, this ſcene reflects more diſgrace on the poet than on him.

He is followed by one of thoſe inſpectors who are ſent by the republic to the ſtates from which they exact tribute and expect preſents. As he comes on, he is heard exclaiming: Where are thoſe who are to receive me[c]?

[c] Id. ibid. v. 1022.

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PISTHETÆRUS.

Who is this Sardanapalus?

INSPECTOR.

I am appointed by lot to the inſpection of the new city.

PISTHETÆRUS.

Who have appointed you?

INSPECTOR.

The people of Athens.

PISTHETÆRUS.

We have no need of your ſervices here: we will however give you ſomething, and you ſhall return whence you came.

INSPECTOR.

By the gods, I have no objection; for I muſt be at the next general aſſembly, which is to meet to conſider of a negotiation that I have opened with Pharnaces, one of the ſatraps of the king of Perſia.

PISTHETÆRUS (*beating him*).

There, there; that is what I promiſed you. Now begone inſtantly.

INSPECTOR.

What do you mean?

PISTHETÆRUS.

That is the deciſion of the aſſembly on the affair of Pharnaces.

INSPECTOR.

What! do you dare to ſtrike an inſpector? Here, witneſſes, witneſſes. (*Exit*).

PISTHETÆRUS.

Is it not intolerable! We have ſcarcely begun to build our city, and already we are plauged with inſpectors.

(*Enter a Crier of Edicts.*)

CRIER OF EDICTS.

If any inhabitant of the new city ſhall inſult an Athenian——

PISTHETÆRUS.

What does this fellow want, with his ſcraps of paper?



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CRIER OF EDICTS.

I cry the edicts of the ſenate and people. I have brought you ſome new ones. Who will buy any edicts?

PISTHETÆRUS.

What do they enact?

CRIER OF EDICTS.

That you ſhall conform to our weights, meaſures and decrees.

PISTHETÆRUS.

Stay; I will ſhow you thoſe which we ſometimes make uſe of. (*He beats him.*)

CRIER OF EDICTS.

What do you mean?

PISTHETÆRUS.

If you do not take yourſelf and your decrees away inſtantly——

(*Re-enter the Inſpector.*)

INSPECTOR.

I ſummon Piſthetærus to appear before a court of juſtice, to anſwer for injuries and inſults——

PISTHETÆRUS.

What, are you there again!

(*Re-enter the Crier of Edicts.*)

CRIER OF EDICTS.

If any one ſhall drive away our magiſtrates, inſtead of receiving them with the honours which are their due——

PISTHETÆRUS.

And you too!

INSPECTOR.

You ſhall be fined a thouſand drachmas. (*They go off and re-enter ſeveral times: Piſthetærus purſues ſometimes one and ſometimes the other, and at length drives them both off the ſtage.*)

If we beſides conſider how much the humour of this extract was heightened by the performance of the actors, we ſhall not

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heſitate to admit that the true ſecret of making the multitude laugh, and men of wit and underſtanding ſmile, has long been known; and, that it only remains to apply it to the different kinds of the ridiculous. Our authors have been born in an age peculiarly favourable to this ſpecies of compoſition. Never were there ſo many avaricious fathers and ſpendthrift ſons; ſo many fortunes ruined by a paſſion for play, law-ſuits, and courteſans; nor ever, in fine, ſuch a variety of arrogant pretenſions, in every condition of life; nor ſuch exaggeration in ideas, ſentiments, and even in vices.

It is only among a rich and enlightened people, like that of Athens and Syracuſe, that comedy can take birth and arrive at perfection. The former have indeed a decided advantage over the latter; their dialect is better adapted to this ſpecies of drama than that of the Syracuſans, which has in it ſomewhat of the emphatical [d].

Nicephorus appeared moved by the praiſes that Theodectes had beſtowed on the ancient comedy. I wiſh, ſaid he to him, that I poſſeſſed ſufficient abilities to render to the maſterly dramas of your ſtage the eulogium which is their due. I have ventured to point out ſome of their defects; for their beauties were not then the ſubject under conſideration. But now that the queſtion is, whether tragedy be ſuſceptible of new improvements, I ſhall give my opinion more explicitly. With reſpect to the conſtitution of the fable, art more profoundly inveſtigated may perhaps diſcover means that were unknown to the earlier authors; becauſe we cannot aſſign limits to art: but never will it be poſſible to pourtray more forcibly and accurately the feelings of nature, becauſe nature has not two languages.

This opinion was aſſented to unanimouſly, and the converſation ended.

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[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 181.



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## CHAP. LXXII.

*Summary of a Voyage to the Coaſt of Aſia, and ſeveral of the neighbouring Iſlands.*

PHILOTAS had, in the iſle of Samos, poſſeſſions which required his preſence. I propoſed to him to ſet out before the time he intended; to go firſt to Chios, and thence to paſs over to the continent, and make the tour of the Greek cities in Æolia, Ionia, and Doris; afterward to viſit the iſlands of Rhodes and Crete, and take in our way back thoſe ſituated near the coaſts of Aſia, as Aſtypalæa, Cos, and Patmos; and thence to proceed to Samos. The relation of this voyage would be much too long and tedious; I ſhall therefore only extract from my journal ſuch particulars as appear to me ſuitable to the general plan of this work.

Apollodorus committed to our care his ſon Lyſis, who had now finiſhed his exerciſes. Several of our friends were deſirous to accompany us, and, among others, Stratonicus, a celebrated player on the cithara; extremely amiable in his carriage to thoſe for whom he had a friendſhip, but no leſs formidable to thoſe for whom he had none; for his repartees, which were very frequent, were often exquiſitely keen and ſatirical. He paſſed his life in travelling through the different countries of Greece[e], and was then juſt arrived from the city of Ænos in Thrace. We aſked him how he found the climate. "It is winter there," ſaid he, "during four months in the year, and cold weather during the other eight[f]." In I know not what place, having promiſed to give public lectures on his art, he was attended by only two pupils. He taught in a hall in which were the ſtatues of the nine Muſes and Apollo. "How

[e] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 350, E.

[f] Id. ibid. p. 351, C.



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many ſcholars have you?" aſked ſome perſon. "Twelve," replied he, "the gods included [g]."

The iſland of Chios, at which we firſt arrived, is one of the largeſt and moſt celebrated of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Several chains of mountains, crowned with beautiful trees, form delicious valleys [h]; and the hills are in many places covered with vines, the grapes of which produce an excellent wine. That of a diſtrict named Arviſia is particularly eſteemed [i].

The inhabitants pretend to have taught other nations the art of cultivating the vine [k]. They indulge in good eating and drinking [l]. One day when we dined at the houſe of one of the principal perſons in the iſland, the converſation turned on the famous queſtion of the country of Homer. Various cities and ſtates aſpire to the honour of having given birth to that celebrated man [m]; but the claims of all but Chios were rejected with contempt, and the latter warmly defended. Among other proofs of their validity, we were told that the deſcendants of Homer ſtill remained in the iſland, and were known by the name of the Homeridæ [n]. At the ſame inſtant we ſaw two of them enter, habited in magnificent robes, and with golden crowns on their heads [o]. They did not rehearſe the eulogium of the poet, but offered to him a more precious incenſe. After an invocation to Jupiter [p], they ſang, alternately, ſeveral ſelect extracts from the Iliad, and performed their parts with ſuch judgment and propriety, that we diſcovered new beauties in the paſſages that had before moſt excited our admiration.

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[g] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 348, D.

[h] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 18. p. 265. Steph. in Χίος. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 371. Voyag. de la Grèce par M. le Comte de Choiſeul Gouffier, chap. 6. p. 87.

[i] Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Plin. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. i. p. 722. Athen. lib. 1. p. 29 et 32.

[k] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 26.

[l] Athen. lib. 1. p. 25.

[m] Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 1.

[n] Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 144. Harpocr. in Ὁμηρίδ.

[o] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530 et 535.

[p] Pind. in Nem. 2. v. 1. Schol. ib.



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This people had for some time been in possession of the empire of the sea [q]; but their power and riches became fatal to them. We must in justice acknowledge that, in the wars against the Persians, Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, they acted with the same prudence both in prosperous and adverse fortune [r]; but they are deserving censure for having introduced the custom of trafficking in slaves. The oracle, informed of their crime, declared, that it had drawn on them the anger of heaven [s]; one of the noblest, but at the same time least regarded, answers which the gods have communicated to men.

From Chios we proceeded to Cyme in Æolia, and thence took our departure to visit the flourishing cities which bound the empire of the Persians on the side of the Ægean sea. But it will be proper to preface what I shall have to say concerning them with a few introductory remarks.

In the most ancient times the Greeks were divided into three great tribes, the Dorians, the Æolians, and the Ionians [t]. These names, it is said, were given them by the children of Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly. Two of his sons, Dorus and Æolus, and his grandson Ion, having settled in different districts of Greece, the people who had been civilized, or at least united in society, by the care of these strangers, esteemed it an honour to bear their names, in the same manner as the different schools of philosophy are distinguished by those of their founders.

The three great divisions I have here pointed out, still remain distinct by differences more or less sensible. The Greek language presents us with three principal dialects, the Dorian, the Æolian, and the Ionian [u], which have numberless subdivisions. The Dorian, which is spoken at Lacedæmon, in

[q] Strab. lib. 14. p. 645.
[r] Thucyd lib. 8. cap. 24.
[s] Theopomp ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 18. p. 265, 266. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 3. p. 1462, lin. 35.
[t] Heracl. Pont. ap. Athen. lib. 14 cap. 5 p 624.
[u] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 21.

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Argolis, at Rhodes, in Crete, Sicily, &c. is in all these places the foundation of particular idioms [x]. The same is true of the Ionian [y]. As to the Æolian, it is frequently confounded with the Doric; and as this union takes place also in other essential points, it is only between the Dorians and Ionians that a parallel can be drawn. This I shall not undertake to perform; I shall only make one general observation. The manners of the former have ever been severe; and the characteristics of their architecture, language, and poetry, are grandeur and simplicity. The latter more early made a progress in refinement; and all the works they produce are distinguished by elegance and taste.

A kind of mutual antipathy prevails between them [z]; perhaps because Lacedæmon holds the first place among the Doric states, and Athens among the Ionian [a]; or, perhaps, because it is impossible that men should be arranged in classes without a kind of hostile division. However this may be, the Dorians have acquired a character which every where commands more respect than that of the Ionians, who in some places would even blush to be called by that denomination [b]. This contempt, which the Athenians have never experienced, has greatly increased since the Ionians of Asia have suffered themselves to be enslaved sometimes by individual tyrants, and sometimes by the barbarous nations.

About two centuries after the war of Troy, a colony of these Ionians settled on the coast of Asia, whence they had driven the ancient inhabitants [c]. A short time before, some Æolians had seized on the country to the north of Ionia [d], and that which lies to the south had fallen into the hands of the Dorians [e]. These three districts form, on the sea coast,

[x] Meurs. in Cret. cap. 15. Mattair. Introd. in Græc. Dialect. p. vii.
[y] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 142.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 80, 81.
[a] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 56.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 143.
[c] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 28. Strab. lib. 14. p. 632. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 5. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 525.
[d] Strab. lib. 13. p 582; lib. 14. p. 632.
[e] Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 385.



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a ſlip of land which, in a right line, may be about 1700 ſtadia * in length, and about 460 † broad, at its greateſt breadth. I do not conclude in this eſtimate the iſlands of Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, and Leſbos, though they make a part of the three colonies.

The country which they occupied on the continent is renowned for its riches and beauty. Every where the coaſt is happily diverſified by capes and bays, around which ariſe a number of towns and cities. Numerous rivers, ſome of which appear to multiply themſelves by their frequent windings, carry plenty through the plains. Though the ſoil of Ionia is not equal in fertility to that of Æolia [f], the former country enjoys a more ſerene ſky and a more equal temperature than the latter [g].

The Æolians poſſeſs, on the continent, eleven cities, the deputies of which aſſemble on certain occaſions in that of Cyme [h]. The confederation of the Ionians is formed between twelve principal cities. Their deputies meet annually at a temple of Neptune, ſituated in a ſacred grove, beneath Mount Mycale, at a ſmall diſtance from Epheſus. After a ſacrifice which the other Ionians are not permitted to be preſent at, and at which a young man of Priene preſides, the affairs of the province are deliberated on [i]. The Doric ſtates aſſemble at the promontory Triopium; and the city of Cnidus, the iſle of Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, alone poſſeſs the right of ſending deputies to them [k].

Nearly in this manner was it that the general aſſemblies of the Aſiatic Greeks were regulated in the earlieſt times. Tranquil in their new habitations, they cultivated in peace their fertile fields, and were invited by their ſituation to tranſ-

* 64 leagues.
† About 17¼ leagues.
[f] Herodot. lib 1 cap. 149.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 142; Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 533, 535.
[h] Herodot. ibid. cap. 149, 157.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 143, 148, 170. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384; lib. 14 p. 639. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 364.
[k] Id ibid. cap. 144. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. l. 4. § 25. t. ii. p. 702

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port their commodities from coaſt to coaſt. Their commerce ſoon increaſed with their induſtry. They afterward were ſeen to ſettle in Egypt, to brave the Adriatic and Tyrrhene ſeas, to build a city in Corſica, and to extend their navigation even to the iſland of Tarteſſus, beyond the Pillars of Hercules [l].

Their firſt ſucceſs had however attracted the attention of a nation too near to them not to be formidable. The kings of Lydia, of which Sardes was the capital, ſeized on ſome of their cities [m]: Crœſus conquered them all, and impoſed on them a tribute [n]. Cyrus, before he attacked the latter prince, propoſed to them to join their arms to his, which they refuſed [o]. After his victory, he diſdained to receive their ſubmiſſion, and ordered one of his generals to march againſt them, who added them to the Perſian empire by right of conqueſt [p].

Under Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, they revolted [q]; and ſoon after, ſupported by the Athenians, burned the city of Sardes, and kindled between the Perſians and the Greeks that fatal hatred which torrents of blood have not yet extinguiſhed. Subjugated a ſecond time by the former [r], who compelled them to furniſh them with ſhips againſt the latter [s], they ſhook off their yoke after the battle of Mycale [t]. During the Peloponneſian war they were ſometimes in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, but more frequently with the Athenians, to whom they at length became ſubject [u]. Some years after the peace of Antalcidas reſtored them for ever to their ancient maſters.

Thus, during about two centuries, the Greeks of Aſia were only occupied in wearing, breaking, and reſuming their chains. Peace was to them what it is to all civilized ſtates, a ſlumber which, for a ſhort time, ſuſpends their labours.

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[l] Id. ibid. cap. 163, 165; lib. 2. c. 178; lib. 3. cap. 26; lib. 4. cap. 152. Strab. lib. 7. p. 801.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 14, 15, 16.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 6 et 27.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 75.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 141. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[q] Id. lib. 5. cap. 98.
[r] Id. lib. 6. cap. 32; lib. 7. cap. 9.
[s] Id. lib. 8. cap. 85, 90.
[t] Id. lib. 9. cap. 104.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 76, 77.

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In the courſe of theſe calamitous revolutions, ſome cities made an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt their enemies, and others exhibited the nobleſt examples of courage. The inhabitants of Teos and Phocæa abandoned the tombs of their fathers; the former removed to Abdera in Thrace, and a part of the latter, after having long wandered on the waves, laid the foundations of the cities of Elea in Italy [x] and Marſeilles in Gaul.

The deſcendants of thoſe who ſubmitted to remain in ſubjection to Perſia, paid to that empire the tribute which Darius had impoſed on their anceſtors [y]. In the general diviſion which that prince made of all the provinces of his empire, Æolia, Ionia, and Doris, joined to Pamphylia, Lycia, and other countries, were taxed in perpetuity at four hundred talents [z] *; a ſum which will not appear exorbitant if we conſider the extent, fertility, and commerce of theſe countries. As the levying of this impoſt occaſioned various diſputes between the different cities, and between individuals, Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, having cauſed the lands on which it was aſſeſſed to be meaſured, in paraſangs †, procured a proportionable table of the ſums to be paid by each contributor to be drawn up, to which he obtained the conſent of the ſeveral deputies, in order to prevent any future contention [a].

We perceive from this example that the court of Suſa was deſirous to retain the Greeks, its ſubjects, in ſubmiſſion rather than in ſervitude; it had even left them their laws, their feſtivals, and their provincial aſſemblies. But, by a falſe policy, the ſovereign frequently granted the domain, at leaſt the adminiſtration of the government, of a Greek city to one of its citizens, who, after having engaged for the fidelity of his countrymen, excited them to revolt, or exerciſed over them an abſolute authority [b]. They were then at once ex-

[x] Herodot. lib. 1 cap. 164, 168.
[y] Id. ibid. cap 6, 27. Xen. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p 501.
[z] Id. lib. 3. cap. 90.
* About 2,500,000 livres (104,166l)

† That is to ſay in ſquare paraſangs. The paraſang was equal to 2268 toiſes (2 miles 6 furlongs).
[a] Id. lib. 6 cap 42.
[b] Id. lib. 4. p. 137, 138; lib. 5.

poſed to the arrogance of the governor-general of the province, and the oppreſſions of particular governors whom he protected; and, as they were too far removed from the centre of the empire, their complaints rarely reached the foot of the throne. In vain was it that even Mardonius, who commanded the Perſian army under Xerxes, endeavoured to reſtore the conſtitution to its original principles. Having obtained the government of Sardes, he re-eſtabliſhed the democracy in the cities of Ionia, and expelled the ſubaltern tyrants [c]; but they ſoon returned [d], becauſe the ſucceſſors of Darius, wiſhing to beſtow rewards on their flaterers, found no mode of doing this ſo eaſy as that of abandoning to them the pillage of a diſtant city. At preſent ſuch grants are more rarely conferred; but the Aſiatic Greeks, enervated by pleaſure, have every where ſuffered the oligarchy to become eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the popular government [e].

If we conſider with proper attention the circumſtances in which they were ſituated, we ſhall be convinced that it was impoſſible they ſhould preſerve complete liberty. The kingdom of Lydia, which afterward became one of the provinces of the Perſian empire, had for its natural boundary the Ægean ſea, the ſhores of which are peopled by Greek colonies. They occupy ſo narrow a ſpace, that they muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the Lydians and Perſians, unleſs they took proper meaſures for their defence. But by a defect which alſo ſubſiſts among the confederate republics of the continent of Greece, not only Æolia, Ionia, and Doris, when threatened with invaſion, did not unite their forces; but in each of the three provinces the decrees of the general aſſembly were not obligatory on all the ſtates of the deputies of which it was compoſed. Thus we ſee, in the time of Cyrus, the inhabit-

cap. 27. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 2c. t. ii p. 402. Id. Cur. Rei Famil. p. ii. p. 504. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 3.

[c] Id. lib. 6 cap. 43.
[d] Id lib. 7. cap. 85.
[e] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib 1. p. 38.



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ants of Miletus made a ſeparate peace with that prince, and delivered up the other cities to the fury of their enemies [f].

When Greece conſented to take arms in their defence, ſhe drew on herſelf the innumerable armies of the Perſians; and, but for prodigies of chance and valour, muſt have ſunk beneath a foreign yoke. If after diſaſtrous wars, repeated through a whole century, ſhe has at laſt renounced the ill-fated project of breaking the chains of the Ionians, it is becauſe ſhe has at length been convinced that their ſituation and circumſtances oppoſe invincible obſtacles to their emancipation. This the ſage Bias of Priene expreſsly declared, when Cyrus had rendered himſelf maſter of Lydia. "Stay not here," ſaid he to the Ionians, "to ſink into an ignominious ſlavery; embark on board your ſhips, traverſe the ſeas, and take poſſeſſion of Sardinia and the neighbouring iſlands, where you may ſtill enjoy liberty and peace [g]."

Twice have theſe people had it in their power to throw off the Perſian yoke; once by following the counſel of Bias, and a ſecond time by accepting the propoſals of the Lacedæmonians, who, after the termination of the Median war, offered to convey them back into Greece [h]; but they have always refuſed to forſake their habitations; and if we may judge from their population and their riches, independence was not neceſſary to their happineſs.

I return to the narrative of my travels, from which I have too long digreſſed. We made the tour of the three Greek provinces of Aſia; but, as I have ſaid above, I ſhall confine myſelf in my account of them to a few general obſervations.

The city of Cyme is one of the largeſt and moſt ancient in Æolia. The inhabitants had been deſcribed to us as men almoſt ſtupid; but we ſoon found that they owed this character only to their virtues. The next day after our arrival it rained, while we were walking in the forum, which is ſur-

[f] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 141, 169.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 170.
[h] Id. lib. 9. cap. 106. Diod. Sic lib. 11. p. 29.

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rounded with porticoes appertaining to the republic. We were about to take ſhelter under them, but were withheld, becauſe it was neceſſary permiſſion ſhould firſt be given. A voice exclaimed: "Enter under the porticoes;" and immediately every perſon ran thither. We learned that they had been made over for a time to the creditors of the ſtate; and as the people pay reſpect to their property, though they, on the other hand, would bluſh to leave the people expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, it is ſaid that the inhabitants of Cyme would never take refuge under the porticoes when it rains, unleſs they were expreſsly deſired. It is alſo ſaid, that for three hundred years they knew not that they poſſeſſed a harbour, becauſe during that time they abſtained from receiving any cuſtoms on the merchandize which was brought to them from foreign countries [i].

After having paſſed ſome days at Phocæa, the walls of which are built with large ſtones joined together with the greateſt exactneſs [k], we entered the vaſt and rich plains which the Hebrus fertilizes with its waters, and which extend from the ſea ſhore to beyond Sardes [l]. The pleaſure I felt in admiring them was accompanied with a melancholy reflection. How repeatedly, ſaid I, have theſe fields been drenched with human blood [m]! and how many times yet to come ſhall they again be enſanguined [n]! When I ſurveyed a ſpacious plain in Greece, I was conſtantly informed, Here, on ſuch an occaſion, ſo many thouſand Greeks fell in battle: but in Scythia, it was ſaid, Theſe fields, the eternal abode of peace, will feed ſo many thouſand ſheep.

Our road, which was almoſt every where overſhadowed by beautiful andrachnes [o], led us to the mouth of the Hermus, and thence our view extended over that ſuperb bay, formed

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[i] Strab. lib. 13. p. 622.
[k] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 163.
[l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 626. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 492.
[m] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyrus, p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 298. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 226.
[n] Liv. lib. 37. cap. 37.
[o] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 495.

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by a peninſula, on which are the cities of Erythræ and Teos. At the bottom of it are ſome ſmall villages, the unfortunate remains of the ancient city of Smyrna, formerly deſtroyed by the Lydians [p]. They ſtill bear the ſame name; and ſhould favourable circumſtances one day permit the inhabitants to unite, and form one town, defended by walls, their ſituation will doubtleſs attract an immenſe commerce. They ſhowed us, at a little diſtance from their habitations, a grotto from which iſſues a ſmall ſtream they name Meles. They hold this place ſacred; for it was there, as they pretend, that Homer compoſed his immortal works [q].

In the road, almoſt in front of Smyrna, is the iſland of Clazomenæ, which derives a great profit from its oils [r]. Its inhabitants hold one of the firſt ranks among the people of Ionia. They told us the means they once employed to reſtore their finances. After a war that had exhauſted the public treaſury, they found they were indebted to the diſbanded ſoldiers the ſum of twenty talents *; which being unable to raiſe, they paid them, during ſome years, intereſt which they fixed at five per cent. They afterward ſtruck copper money, to which they affixed the ſame value as if it were ſilver. The rich conſented to take it, the debt was liquidated, and the revenues of the ſtate, adminiſtered with œconomy, enabled them gradually to call in the adulterated coin circulated in commerce [s].

The petty tyrants formerly eſtabliſhed in Ionia had recourſe to more odious means to acquire riches. The following fact was related to us at Phocæa. A Rhodian governed that city, who had contrived to form two oppoſite factions. He ſeparately and ſecretly told the leaders of each, that their enemies had offered him ſuch a ſum of money to declare in their favour; by which means he obtained the ſame price from

[p] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 535. Ariſtid Orat. in Smyrn. t. i. p. 408.
[r] Ariſtot. Cur. Rei Famil. t. ii. p. 504.
* 108,000 livres (4,500 l.)
[s] Ap. Ariſtot. Cur. Rei Famil. t. ii. p. 504.

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both, and afterward effected a reconciliation between the two parties [t].

We took our road toward the south. Besides the cities which are within land, we visited, on the sea shore, or in the environs, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Iasus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus.

The inhabitants of Ephesus showed us with regret the ruins of the temple of Diana, equally celebrated for its antiquity and its magnificence [u]. Fourteen years before, it had been burnt, not by lightning, or the fury of an enemy, but by the caprice of an individual, named Herostratus, who, when put to the torture, confessed that his only motive was to eternize his name [x]. The general assembly of the states of Ionia passed a decree to condemn this fatal name to oblivion; but the prohibition to record it can only serve to perpetuate its remembrance; and the historian Theopompus one day told me, that, when he relates the fact, he shall give the name of the incendiary [y].

Nothing remains of this superb edifice but the four walls, and some columns which rise in the midst of ruins. The fire has consumed the roof, and the ornaments which decorated the nave. It is begun to be rebuilt. All the citizens have contributed, and the women have sacrificed their jewels [z]. The parts which the fire has damaged will be repaired, and those which it has destroyed restored with still greater magnificence, or at least with more taste. The beauty of the inside was heightened by the lustre of gold, and the works of several celebrated artists [a]; but it will now derive additional splendour from the tributes of painting and sculpture [b], which have been brought to perfection in these modern times. No

[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 357.
[x] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 27. t. ii. p. 456. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Solin. cap. 40.
[y] Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 6 Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 14. Extern. No. 5.
[z] Aristot. Cur. Rei Famil. t. ii. p. 505. Strab. lib. 14. p. 640.
[a] Aristoph. in Nub v. 598. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t ii p 649.
[b] Strab lib. 14 p. 641. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 697.

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change will be made in the form of the ſtatue, a form anciently borrowed from the Egyptians, and which is alſo found in ſeveral Greek cities [c]. The goddeſs bears on her head a tower; two iron rods ſupport the hands, and the body terminates in a ſheath enriched with figures of animals and other ſymbols *.

The Epheſians have a very wiſe law relative to the conſtruction of public edifices. The architect whoſe plan is choſen, enters into a bond by which he engages all his property. If he exactly fulfils the conditions of his agreement, honours are decreed him: if the expence exceeds the ſum ſtipulated only by one quarter, the ſurplus is paid from the public treaſury; but if it amounts to more, the property of the architect is taken to pay the remainder [d].

We next proceeded to Miletus, and ſurveyed with admiration its temples, feſtivals, manufactures, harbours, and the innumerable concourſe of ſhips, mariners, and workmen, there perpetually in motion. This city is the abode of opulence, learning and pleaſure: it is the Athens of Ionia. Doris, daughter of the Ocean, had by Nereus fifty daughters, named Nereides, all diſtinguiſhed by various charms [e]. Miletus has ſent forth a ſtill greater number of colonies, which perpetuate her glory on the coaſts of the Helleſpont, the Propontis, and the Euxine ſea [f] †. Their metropolis gave birth to the firſt hiſtorians and the firſt philoſophers, and boaſts of having produced Aſpaſia, and the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed courteſans. On certain occaſions the intereſts of her commerce have compelled her to prefer peace to war; on others ſhe has laid down her arms without having diſgraced them; and

[c] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 357.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[d] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 10. p 203.
[e] Heſiod. de Gener. Deor. v. 241.
[f] Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 523. Strab. lib. 14. p. 635. Senec. de Conſolat. ad Helv. cap. 6. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278.
† Seneca attributes to Miletus ſeventy-five colonies; Pliny more than eighty. See the citations.

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hence the proverb, The Milesians were valiant in times past [g].

Within the walls the city is adorned by the productions of the arts, and without embellished by the riches of nature. How often have we directed our steps to the banks of the Mæander, which, after having received numerous rivers, and bathed the walls of various cities, rolls its waters, in innumerable windings, through the plain which is honoured by bearing its name, and proudly ornaments its course with the plenty it creates [h]! How often, seated on the turf which borders its flowery margin, surrounded on all sides with the most delightful prospects, and unable to satiate our senses with the purity and serene splendour of the air and sky [i], have we not felt a delicious languor insinuate itself into our souls, and throw us, if I may so speak, into the intoxication of happiness! Such is the influence of the climate of Ionia: and as moral causes, far from correcting, have only tended to increase it, the Ionians are become the most effeminate, but at the same time are to be numbered among the most amiable people of Greece.

In their ideas, sentiments, and manners [k], a certain softness prevails, which constitutes the charm of society; and in their music and dances [l], a liberty which at first offends, but at length seduces. They have added new charms to pleasure, and enriched their luxury by inventions. Numerous festivals occupy them at home, or attract them to the neighbouring cities, where the men appear in magnificent habits, and the women in all the elegance of female ornament,

[g] Athen. lib. 12. p. 523. Aristoph. in Plut v 1003.

[h] Heronor. lib 7. cap. 26. Strab. lib. 12. p 577. 578.

[i] Id. lib. 1. cap. 142. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 533 535. Chaudl. Trav. in Asia Minor, chap. 21. p. 78.

[k] Aristoph. in Thesm. v. 170. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccles. v. 913. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. Ephor. et Heraclid. ap. Athen lib. 12 cap. 5. p. 523.

[l] Horat lib. 3. od. 6. v. 21. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 625.



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and with all the desire of pleasing [m]. Hence the reverence they preserve for the ancient traditions which justify their propensity to pleasure. Near Miletus we were conducted to the fountain of Biblis, where that unhappy princess expired with love and grief [n]. We were also shown Mount Latmos, where Diana granted her favours to the youth Endymion [o]. At Samos unfortunate lovers address their vows to the manes of Leontichus and Rhadina [p].

When we go up the Nile from Memphis to Thebes, we survey on each side monuments of every kind, among which pyramids and obelisks at intervals lift their heads. But a scene a thousand times more interesting offers itself to the admiration of the attentive traveller, who takes his departure from the port of Halicarnassus to proceed to the peninsula of Erythræ. In this passage, which, in a right line, is only of about nine hundred stadia *, he views a multitude of cities scattered over the coasts of the continent and the neighbouring islands. Never within such a narrow space did nature produce so great a number of men of distinguished talents and sublime genius. Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, Hippocrates at Cos, Thales at Miletus, Pythagoras at Samos, Parrhasius at Ephesus †, Xenophanes ‡ at Colophon, Anacreon at Teos, Anaxagoras at Clazomenæ, and Homer every where; for I have already said that the honour of having given birth to the latter excites a great rivalry through all this country. I have not included in this list all the celebrated writers of Ionia; for the same reason that, when speaking of the deities of Olympus, we only mention the greatest gods.

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[m] Xenophan. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 526.

[n] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 535. Conon. ap. Phot. p. 423. Ovid. Metam. lib. 9. v. 454.

[o] Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 376. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. i. p. 76. Hesych. in Ἔνδυμ. &c.

[p] Id. ibid.

* About 34 leagues.

† Apelles also was born in this country; at Cos according to some, and at Ephesus according to others.

‡ The founder of the Elean school.

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From Ionia, properly ſo called, we paſſed into Doris, which makes a part of ancient Caria. Cnidus, ſituated near the promontory Triopium, gave birth to the hiſtorian Cteſias; as alſo to the aſtronomer Eudoxus, who has lived in our time. We were ſhown, as we paſſed by, the houſe in which the latter made his obſervations [q]; and ſoon after found ourſelves in the preſence of the Venus of Praxiteles. This ſtatue had juſt been placed in the middle of a ſmall temple, which received light by two oppoſite doors, in order that a gentle light might fall on it on every ſide [r]. But how may it be poſſible to deſcribe the ſurpriſe we felt at the firſt view, and the illuſions which quickly followed! We lent our own feelings to the marble [s], and ſeemed to hear it ſigh. Two pupils of Praxiteles, who had lately arrived from Athens to ſtudy this maſter-piece of art, pointed out to us the beauties of which we felt the effect, without penetrating the cauſe. Among the by-ſtanders one ſaid—"Venus has forſaken Olympus, and come down to dwell with us:" another ſaid—"If Juno and Minerva ſhould now behold her, they would no more complain of the judgment of Paris [t]:" and a third exclaimed, "The goddeſs formerly deigned to exhibit her charms without a veil to Paris, Anchiſes, and Adonis. Has ſhe been ſeen in the ſame manner by Praxiteles [u]?" "Yes," replied one of his pupils, "and under the form of Phryne [x]." In fact, at the firſt ſight we had recognized the look and features of that famous courteſan; and our young artiſts diſcovered, at the ſame time, that the ſtatue had the enchanting ſmile of another miſtreſs of Praxiteles, named Cratine [y].

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[q] Strab. lib. 2. p. 119; lib. 4. p. 656.

[r] Plin. lib. 36 cap. 5. t. ii. p. 726. Lucian. in Amor. § 13. t. ii. p. 411.

[s] Diod. Sic. Eclog. ex lib. 26. p. 884.

[t] Anthol. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 323.

[u] Id. ibid. p. 324.

[x] Athen lib. 13. cap. 6. p. 591.

[y] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 47. Lucian. in Amor. § 13. t. ii. p. 411.



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Thus have the painters and ſculptors, taking their miſtreſſes for their models, exhibited them to public veneration under the name of different divinities. In like manner, in deſigning the head of Mercury, they have copied the features of Alcibiades [z].

The Cnidians are proud of a treaſure which at once promotes the intereſts of their commerce, and contributes to their glory. Among a people devoted to ſuperſtition, and paſſionately in love with the arts, an oracle or a celebrated monument is ſufficient to attract ſtrangers, who frequently croſs the ſeas, to repair to Cnidus, and contemplate the fineſt work which ever came from the hands of Praxiteles [a] *.

Lyſias, who was unable to take his eyes from the ſtatue, expreſſed his admiration in the moſt exaggerated terms; and exclaimed, from time to time, Never did nature produce any thing ſo perfect. But how, replied I, can you be certain that, among the infinite number of forms which ſhe has given to the human body, there may not be ſome one which even ſurpaſſes in beauty that you have before your eyes? Have you examined all the bodies which have exiſted, or which now exiſt?—You will at leaſt confeſs, anſwered he, that art multiplies theſe models; and that, by carefully collecting the beauties ſcattered among different individuals [b], it has found the ſecret of remedying the unpardonable negligence of nature. Is not the human form exhibited with more ſplendour and dignity in the workſhops of our artiſts than among all the families of Greece? In the eyes of nature, replied I, nothing is beautiful, nothing deformed; all is order. Little does ſhe regard that, from her innumerable combinations, a form may reſult poſſeſſed of all the perfections, or all the defects, which we attribute to the human body:

[z] Id. ibid.

[a] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 726.

* Some coins ſtruck at Cnidus, in the time of the Roman emperors, repreſent, it is ſuppoſed, the Venus of Praxiteles. With her right hand the goddeſs conceals her ſex, and in her left holds a linen cloth over a veſſel containing perfumes.

[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 781. Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 75.

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her ſingle object is, to preſerve that harmony which, connecting by inviſible chains the minuteſt parts of the univerſe to the great whole, conducts them ſilently to the end ſhe has propoſed. Reverence therefore her operations; they are of ſo exalted a kind, that the leaſt reflection would diſcover to you more real beauties in an inſect than in this ſtatue.

Lyſias, indignant at the blaſphemies I had uttered in the preſence of the goddeſs, replied to me, with warmth, Why ſhould we reflect, when we are compelled to yield to impreſſions ſo lively?—Thoſe you feel, anſwered I, would be leſs ſo were you alone and unintereſted, and eſpecially were you ignorant of the name of the artiſt. I have followed the progreſs of your ſenſations. You have been ſtruck at the firſt view, and you have expreſſed yourſelf like a man of taſte; agreeable recollections have afterwards been awakened in your heart, and you have aſſumed the language of paſſion. When our young pupils had unfolded to you ſome ſecrets of their art, you have wiſhed to refine on their expreſſions, and you chilled me with your enthuſiaſm. How much more commendable was the candour of that Athenian, who being by accident in the portico in which is the celebrated Helen of Zeuxis, and viewing it for ſome moments, was leſs ſurpriſed at the excellence of the picture, than at the tranſports of a painter who ſtood near him, and to whom he frankly ſaid, For my part, I cannot perceive that this woman is ſo extraordinarily beautiful.—That is, replied the artiſt, becauſe you have not my eyes[c].

On coming out of the temple, we paſſed through the ſacred grove, in which every object has a relation to the worſhip of Venus. There the mother of Adonis ſeemed again to live, and enjoy an eternal youth, under the form of the myrtle; the tender Daphne under that of the laurel[d]; and the beau-

[c] Plut. ap. Stob. ſerm. 61. 394. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14.

[d] Philoſtr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 19. Virg. eclog. 3. v. 63.



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tiful Cypariſſus under that of the cypreſs [c]. Every where the flexible ivy cloſely graſped the branches of the trees, and in ſome places the too fruitful vine found a convenient ſupport. Beneath arbours overſhadowed by lofty plane trees, we ſaw ſeveral companies of Gnidians; who, after having ſolemnized a ſacrifice, took a rural repaſt [f]. They ſang their loves, and frequently poured into their cups the delicious wine which that happy country produces [g].

In the evening, when we returned to our inn, our two young pupils opened their port-folios, and ſhowed us, in ſketches which they had procured, the firſt thoughts of ſeveral celebrated artiſts [h]; as alſo a great number of ſtudies which they had made after various beautiful works, and in particular after the famous ſtatue of Polycletus, which is named the Canon or Rule [i]. They conſtantly carried with them the work which that artiſt compoſed to juſtify the proportions of his figure [k]; and the treatiſe on ſymmetry and colours, which had been publiſhed not long before by the painter Euphranor [l].

On this occaſion, ſeveral queſtions were propoſed concerning beauty, both univerſal and individual. All preſent conſidered it as a quality ſolely relative to our ſpecies: and all agreed that it produces a ſurpriſe accompanied with admiration; and that it acts on us with more or leſs force, according to the organization of our ſenſes, and the modifications of our ſoul. But they added, that the idea which we form of it not being the ſame in Africa as in Europe, but every where varying according to the difference of age and ſex, it was not poſſible to unite all its different characteriſtics in an exact definition.

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[c] Id. ibid.
[f] Lucian. in Amor. § 12. t. ii. p. 409.
[g] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.
[h] Petron. in Satir. p. 311. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix p. 360.
[i] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 650. Lucian. de Mort. Peregr. § 9. t. iii. p. 331.
[k] Galen. de Hippocr. et Plat. Dogmat. lib. 5. t. i. p. 288.
[l] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 704.

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One of the company, who was at once a phyſician and a philoſopher, after having obſerved that the parts of our body are compoſed of primitive elements, maintained that health is the conſequence of the equilibrium of theſe elements, and that beauty is the reſult of the whole produced by theſe parts [m]. No, ſaid one of the diſciples of Praxiteles; he who, ſervilely following rules, ſhall only fix his attention on the correſpondence of the parts, and accuracy of their proportions, will never arrive at perfection. He was aſked what models a great artiſt propoſes to himſelf, when he wiſhes to repreſent the ſovereign of the gods, or the mother of love?

Thoſe models, anſwered he, which he has formed to himſelf from an attentive ſtudy of nature and art; and in which are ſtored up, if I may ſo ſpeak, all the charms which are ſuitable to every kind of beauty. With his eyes fixed on one of theſe, he endeavours by long labour to reproduce it in his copy [n]: he retouches it a thouſand times; now ſtamping on it the impreſs of his elevated ſoul, and now that of his luxuriant imagination; and never leaves it till he has infuſed a ſublime majeſty into the Jupiter of Olympia, or ſeductive graces into the Venus of Cnidus.

The original difficulty, replied I, ſtill remains. Theſe images of beauty of which you ſpeak, theſe abſtract forms in which the truly ſimple is enriched by the true ideal [o], have in them nothing preciſe or uniform; but each artiſt conceives and exhibits them to us with different features. The true idea, therefore, of the tranſcendently beautiful cannot be taken from meaſures ſo variable.

Plato, nowhere finding beauty exempt from blemiſhes and imperfection, to diſcover it, raiſed his ideas to that model which the great Diſpoſer of all things copied, when he reduced chaos to order [p]. There were traced, in an ineffable and ſu-

[m] Galien. de Hippocr. et Plat. Dogmat. lib. 5. t. i. p. 288.

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 767.

[o] Cicer. Orat. cap. 2. t. i. p. 421. De Pile Cours de Peint. p. 32. Winckelm. Hiſt. de l'Art, t. ii. p. 41. Jun. de Pict. Vet. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 9.

[p] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 93. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29.


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blime * manner, all the ſpecies of objects which our ſenſes diſcover [q], and all the beauties of which the human body is ſuſceptible, in the different periods of life. Had not rebellious matter oppoſed, with an invincible reſiſtance, the action of the Divine Being, the viſible world would have poſſeſſed all the perfections of the intellectual. Particular beauties indeed would have made on us but a ſlight impreſſion, becauſe they would have been common to individuals of the ſame ſex and the ſame age; but how much ſtronger and more durable would have been our emotions at beholding ſuch a profuſion of beauties, ever pure, and without the leaſt mixture, ever the ſame, and ever new!

In our preſent ſtate, the ſoul, in which ſhines a ray of light emanated from the Divinity, inceſſantly ſighs after this eſſential beauty [r]; ſeeks its feeble remains diſperſed in the beings which ſurround it; and elicits from itſelf ſome ſparkles of it, which are reſplendent in the noble productions of the arts, and cauſe us to acknowledge that their authors, no leſs than the poets, are animated by a celeſtial flame [s].

This theory was admired, but at the ſame time combated. Philotas took up the diſcourſe. Ariſtotle, ſaid he, who never indulges his imagination, perhaps becauſe Plato has indulged his but too much, has been contented with ſaying, that beauty is order in grandeur [t]. In fact, order ſuppoſes ſymmetry, fitneſs, and harmony; in grandeur are compriſed ſimplicity, unity, and majeſty. It was agreed that this definition contained nearly all the characteriſtics of beauty, both univerſal and particular.

We went from Cnidus to Mylaſa, one of the principal cities of Caria. It poſſeſſes a rich territory, and contains a great number of temples, ſome of them very ancient, and built of a

* See Chap. LIX.
[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 597.
[r] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 211. Id. in Phædr. p. 251.
[s] Jun. de Pict. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 23.
[t] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 49. Id. de Poet. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 658.



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beautiful marble, dug from a neighbouring quarry[u]. In the evening, Stratonicus told us he intended to play on the cithara, in the preſence of the people of the place; and was not to be diſſuaded from his deſign by our hoſt, who related to him a fact that had lately happened in another city of that diſtrict, named Iaſus. The multitude having collected together at the invitation of a player on the cithara, at the moment when he diſplayed all the powers of his art, the trumpet ſounded, to give notice of the ſale of fiſh, on which all his hearers ran away to the market, except one honeſt citizen who was rather deaf. The muſician approached him, to thank him for his polite attention, and congratulate him on his good taſte — What, ſaid he, has the trumpet ſounded!—It certainly has, replied the muſician.—Farewell then, ſaid the other, I muſt be gone this moment[x]. On the next day, Stratonicus, being in the middle of the forum, and ſeeing only a very few auditors round him, began to cry with his utmoſt ſtrength, "O ye temples, hear me!" This was all the revenge he took for the contempt with which the Greeks of Caria treated his extraordinary abilities[y].

He was expoſed to greater danger at Caunus. The country there is fertile; but the heat of the climate, and the great abundance of fruits, often occaſion fevers. We were aſtoniſhed at the number of pale and languid ſick perſons whom we ſaw in the ſtreets. Stratonicus thought proper to quote to them a verſe of Homer, in which the race of men is compared to the leaves on trees[z]. This was in the autumn, when the leaves were yellow. Perceiving that the people were offended at his pleaſantry, he added—"I could not mean to ſay that this place is unwholeſome, for I here every day ſee the dead walking about the ſtreets[a]." It was now neceſſary to depart immediately, which we did; but not without many reproaches

[u] Strab. lib. 14. p. 658. Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 171.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 658.
[y] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 9. p. 348.
[z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 146.
[a] Strab. lib. 14. p. 651. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 533. ap. Geograph. Min. t. iv. p. 101.

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on Stratonicus, who laughing told us, that once at Corinth, having ſuffered ſome indiſcreet jokes to eſcape him, he obſerved an old woman ſurveying him with great attention; and when he inquired why ſhe did ſo, received for anſwer, "I am aſtoniſhed how your mother could bear you within her nine months, when this city cannot a ſingle day[b]."

## CHAP. LXXIII.

### CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

*The Iſlands of Rhodes, Crete, and Cos.*

WE embarked at Caunus. As we approached Rhodes, Stratonicus ſang to us that beautiful ode in which, among other praiſes Pindar has beſtowed on that iſland, he calls it the daughter of Venus, and the ſpouſe of the Sun[c]; expreſſions which perhaps have a reference to the pleaſures the goddeſs there diſtributes, and to the attention of the god to honour it inceſſantly with his preſence; for it is affirmed that there is no day in the year on which he is not viſible there for ſome moments[d]. The Rhodians conſider him as their principal divinity[e], and his image is ſtamped on all their money.

Rhodes was firſt named Ophiuſa[f], that is to ſay, the iſle of ſerpents; a name given alſo to ſeveral other iſlands which abounded in thoſe reptiles, when they were firſt taken poſſeſſion of by men: and it may be made a general remark, that a great number of places, at the time of their firſt diſcovery, were named after the animals, trees, plants, and flowers which

[b] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 9. p. 349.
[c] Pind. Olymp. 7. v. 25.
[d] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 62. t. i. p. 194.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 327.
[f] Strab. lib. 14. p. 653. Steph. in Ῥόδ.



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were found there in greateſt abundance. It was ſaid, I am going to the country *of quails, of cypreſſes, of laurels*, &c. [g]

In the time of Homer, the iſland of which I ſpeak was divided between the cities of Ialyſus, Camirus, and Lindus [h], which ſtill exiſt, though deprived of their ancient ſplendour. Almoſt in our time, the greater part of their inhabitants, having reſolved to ſettle in one place to unite their ſtrength [i], laid the foundations of the city of Rhodes *, after the deſigns of an Athenian architect [k]. They conveyed thither the ſtatues that had adorned their former abodes [l], and of which ſome are truly coloſſal [m] †. The new city was built in the form of an amphitheatre [n], on a ſpot of ground which has a declivity to the ſea-ſhore. Its ports, arſenals, and walls, which are extremely high, and defended by towers; its houſes built with ſtone, and not with brick; its temples, ſtreets, and theatres—all bear the impreſs of grandeur and beauty [o]; all proclaim the taſte of a people who cheriſh the arts, and whoſe opulence enables them to execute great deſigns.

The air of the iſland of Rhodes is pure and ſerene [p]. The country contains fertile diſtricts, and produces excellent grapes and wine, trees of particular beauty, and honey which is in great eſteem. We alſo find there ſalt-pits and marble quarries; and the ſurrounding ſea furniſhes the iſland with fiſh in abundance [q]. Theſe advantages, and others beſide, have occa-

[g] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 453, p. 84 Spanh. de Præſt. Num. t. i. p. 320.

[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 656. Pind. Olymp. 7. v. 135.

[i] Strab. lib. 14. p 655. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 196. Conon. ap. Phot. p. 456. Ariſtid. Orat. de Concord. t. ii. p. 398.

* In the 1ſt year of the 93d Olympiad (Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 196.) before Chriſt 408 or 407.

[k] Strab. ibid. p. 654.

[l] Pind. Olymp. 7. v. 95.

[m] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 647.

† Among theſe coloſſal ſtatues I do not include the famous coloſſus which, according to Pliny, was ſeventy cubits high, becauſe it was not erected till about ſixty-four years after the time in which I place the voyage of Anacharſis to Rhodes (Meurſ. in Rhod. lib. 1. cap. 15). But I mention it here to ſhow what a taſte the Rhodians had in thoſe times for gigantic ſtatues.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 811.

[o] Strab. lib. 14. p. 652. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 689. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 356. Ariſtid. Orat. Rhodiac. t. ii. p. 342 et 358. Dio. Chryſoſt. orat. 31. p. 354.

[p] Suet. in Tiber. cap. 11.

[q] Murſ. in Rhod. lib. 2. cap. 1.

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ſioned the poets to ſay that a golden rain deſcends on Rhodes from heaven [r].

Nature was aſſiſted by induſtry. Before the æra of the Olympiads, the Rhodians applied themſelves to maritime affairs [s]. Their iſland, by its happy ſituation [t], invited ſhips to put in there in their paſſage from Egypt to Greece, or Greeee to Egypt [u]. They ſucceſſively formed ſettlements in the greater part of the places to which they were drawn by commerce. Among their numerous colonies we muſt reckon Parthenope * and Salapia in Italy, Agrigentum and Gela in Sicily, Rhodes † on the coaſt of Iberia, at the foot of the Pyrenees, &c. [x]

The progreſs of their improvement in knowledge is marked by æras ſufficiently diſtinct. In the moſt ancient times they were taught by ſome ſtrangers, known by the name of Telchinians, certain proceſſes, at that time no doubt very rude, for working metals; and the authors of this beneficial diſcovery were ſuſpected of employing magical operations [y]. Men more enlightened afterwards gave them ideas on the courſe of the heavenly bodies, and on the art of divination. Theſe were called the children of the ſun [z]. At length men of genius induced them to ſubmit to laws, the wiſdom of which is univerſally acknowledged [a]. Thoſe relative to their navy will always preſerve it in a flouriſhing condition, and may ſerve as a model to all commercial nations [b]. The Rhodians confidently navigate every ſea, and viſit every coaſt. The lightneſs and ſpeed of their veſſels, the diſcipline obſerved on

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[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 670. Pind. Olymp. 7. v. 89. Strab. lib. 14. p. 654.
[s] Strab. lib. 14. p. 654.
[t] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 430. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 3.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 329. Demoſth. adv. Dionyſ. p. 1121, &c.
* Naples.
† Roſes in Spain.
[x] Strab. lib. 14. p. 654. Meurſ. Rhod. lib. 1 cap. 18.
[y] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 326.
[z] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. p. 328.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 652.
[b] Meurſ. in Rhod. lib. 1. cap. 21. Diſſert. de M. Paſtoret. ſur l'Influence des Lois des Rhodiens.

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board them, and the ability of their commanders and pilots, are nowhere to be equalled [c]. This part of the adminiſtration is confided to attentive and rigid magiſtrates; and any perſon who without permiſſion ſhould enter certain places in the arſenals, would be puniſhed with death [d].

I ſhall mention ſome of their civil and criminal laws. To prevent children from ſuffering the memory of their father to be diſhonoured, the law ordains that they ſhall pay his debts, even though they renounce the ſucceſſion [e]. At Athens, when a man is condemned to die, before he is executed, his name is obliterated from the regiſter of the citizens; it is not therefore an Athenian, but a ſtranger, who ſuffers the ignominious puniſhment [f]. The ſame ſpirit has dictated the law of the Rhodians, which enacts, that thoſe who have committed murder ſhall be tried without the city [g]. With a view to inſpire a greater horror for guilt, the public executioner is forbidden to enter the city [h].

The ſupreme authority had always been in the hands of the people, but it was wreſted from them ſome years ſince, by a faction in the intereſt of Mauſolus king of Caria [i]; and they in vain implored the aſſiſtance of Athens [k]. The rich, who had before been ill treated by the people, took more care of their intereſts than they had done themſelves. They ordered diſtributions of corn to be made among them, from time to time; and appointed certain officers to ſupply the neceſſities of the poorer claſs, and eſpecially of thoſe employed in the fleets and arſenals [l].

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[c] Died. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 402. Liv lib. 37. cap. 30. Cicer. pro Leg. Manil. cap. 18. t. v. p. 20. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 3.

[d] Strab. lib. 12. p. 653.

[e] Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 38.

[f] Dio Chryſoſt. orat. 31. p. 336.

[g] Ariſtid. Orat. Rhod. t. ii. p. 353.

[h] Dio Chryſoſt. orat. 31. p. 348.

[i] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 388; et cap. 5. p. 392. Theopomp. ap. Athen. cap. 12. p. 444. Demoſth. de Libert. Rhod. p. 144, 145. Liban. Argum. ibid. p. 143. Ulpian. in Demoſth. p. 149.

[k] Demoſth. de Libert. Rhod. p. 143.

[l] Strab. lib. 14. p. 652.

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Such prudent measures will no doubt perpetuate the oligarchy *; and, so long as the principles of the constitution shall remain uncorrupted, other states will ever seek the alliance of a people, the leaders of whom are distinguished by consummate prudence, and the soldiers by intrepid courage [m]. But these alliances will never be frequent [n]. The Rhodians will remain as much as possible in an armed neutrality. They will have fleets always ready to protect their commerce; by commerce they will amass riches, and their riches will enable them to maintain their fleets.

Their laws inspire them with an ardent love for liberty, and their superb monuments impress their minds with the ideas and sentiments of grandeur. They preserve hope in the most calamitous reverses of fortune, and the ancient simplicity of their fathers in the midst of opulence †. Their manners have sometimes been endangered; but they are so attached to certain forms of order and decency, that such attacks have on them only a transient influence. They appear in public in modest habits, and with a grave demeanour. They are never seen running in the streets, and hurrying over each other. They are present at the public shows in silence; and in those entertainments in which mirth and the confidence of friendship reign, they forget not the respect they owe to themselves [o].

We went over the eastern part of the island, which it is pretended was formerly inhabited by giants [p]. Bones of a prodigious size have been found there [q], and we have been shown others like them in different places in Greece. Has this race of men really existed? I know not.

At the town of Lindus, the temple of Minerva is remarkable, not only for its great antiquity and the offerings of

* The oligarchy established at Rhodes in the time of Aristotle still subsisted in the time of Strabo.

[m] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 428. Id. Excerpt. Legat. p. 924. Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 820. Hist. de Bell. Alexandr. cap. 15.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 809.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[o] Dio Chrysost. orat. 31, p. 359. orat. 32. p. 377.

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 327.

[q] Phleg. de Reb. Mirab. cap. 16.

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kings[r], but also for two objects which fixed our attention. We there saw, traced in letters of gold, that ode of Pindar which Stratonicus had rehearsed to us[s]; and near it the portrait of Hercules by Parrhasius, who, in an inscription at the bottom of the picture, has declared, that he has represented the god such as he had seen him more than once in a dream[t]. Other works of the same artist excited the emulation of a young man of Caunus, with whom he had made an acquaintance, and who was named Protogenes. I mention him, because it is augured, from his first essays, that he will one day rival, or even surpass, Parrhasius.

Among the men of letters which the island of Rhodes has produced, we shall first mention Cleobulus, one of the sages of Greece; and next Timocreon and Anaxandrides, both celebrated for their comedies. The former was at once an athlete and a poet; extraordinarily voracious, and extremely satirical. " In his theatrical pieces, as well as in his songs, he satirized, without mercy, Themistocles and Simonides. After his death, Simonides composed his epitaph in these words:—" I have passed my life in eating, drinking, and speaking ill of every body[u]."

Anaxandrides, invited by the king of Macedon to his court, increased, by one of his pieces, the splendour of the festivals there celebrated[x]. Having been chosen by the Athenians to compose the dithyrambics to be sung during the solemnization of some religious ceremony, he appeared on horseback, at the head of the chorus, habited in a purple robe fringed with gold, his hair floating on his shoulders, and singing himself the verses he had written[y]. He believed that the splen-

[r] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 182. Note de M. Larcher, t. ii. p. 519. Meurs. in Rhod. lib 1. cap. 6.

[s] Gorg. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 7. p. 76. Alter. Shol. p. 88.

[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. p. 694. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 12. p. 543.

[u] Athen. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 415. Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 212. Ælian. Var Hist. lib. 1. cap. 27. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 122. Suid. in Τιμοκρ.

[x] Suid. in. Ἀναξανδρ.

[y] Athen. lib. 9. cap. 4. 374.

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dour of his dreſs, added to the gracefulneſs of his perſon, would enſure to him the admiration of the multitude. His vanity rendered him inſufferably petulant. He had compoſed ſixty-five comedies, and gained the prize ten times; but, much leſs flattered by his victories than mortified by his failures, inſtead of correcting the pieces which had not ſucceeded, he ſent them, in a fit of paſſion, to the grocers for waſte paper [z].

The general character of the people is not to be eſtimated from theſe examples. Timocreon and Anaxandrides lived at a diſtance from their country, and ſought only their own perſonal glory.

The iſland of Rhodes is much ſmaller than that of Crete*. Both appeared to me to merit attention. The former has raiſed itſelf above what might have been expected from the means it poſſeſſed, while the latter has not attained to the eminence to which it appears entitled from its ſituation and advantages. We had a very proſperous paſſage from one iſland to the other; and landed at the port of Cnoſſus, diſtant from the city of the ſame name twenty-five ſtadia [a] †.

In the time of Minos, Cnoſſus was the capital of Crete [b]. The inhabitants are deſirous ſtill to preſerve to it the ſame prerogative; and found their pretenſions, not on their preſent power, but on the glory of their anceſtors [c], and on a title which they conſider as ſtill more ſacred: I mean the tomb of Jupiter [d], or that famous cave in which they ſay he was buried. It is ſituated at the foot of Mount Ida, at a ſmall diſtance from the city: they preſſed us to go to ſee it; and the Cnoſſian who was ſo obliging as to entertain us in his houſe, inſiſted on accompanying us thither.

Our way lay through the forum, which was full of people. We were told that a ſtranger was to deliver an oration in ho-

[z] Id. ibid.
* Now Candia.
[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476.
† About a league.
[b] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 19 v 178.
[c] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Val. p. 353.
[d] Meurſ. in Cret. cap. 3, 4.

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nour of the Cretans, at which deſign we were not ſurpriſed; for we had ſeen, in ſeveral places in Greece, orators or ſophiſts compoſe or recite, in public, the panegyric of a people, a hero, or ſome celebrated perſonage [e]. But what was our aſtoniſhment, when the ſtranger aſcended the roſtrum, to behold Stratonicus, who the evening before, without giving us any intimation of his deſign, had ſignified his intention to the magiſtrates, with whom he had become acquainted in a preceding voyage!

After having repreſented the ancient inhabitants of the iſland in a ſtate of barbariſm and ignorance [f]—Among you, he proceeded, was it that all the arts were diſcovered, and to you is the world indebted for them. Saturn endowed you with the love of juſtice, and that ſimplicity of heart by which you are eſpecially diſtinguiſhed [g]; Veſta taught you to build houſes, and Neptune to conſtruct ſhips; you owe to Ceres the culture of corn, to Bacchus that of the vine, to Minerva that of the olive [h]; Jupiter deſtroyed the giants who endeavoured to enſlave you [i]; and Hercules cleared your iſland of ſerpents, wolves, and different kinds of noxious animals [k]. The authors of theſe various benefits, admitted by your cares into the number of the gods, firſt received exiſtence in this beautiful country, and are now ſolely occupied in procuring its happineſs.

The orator afterwards ſpoke of the wars of Minos; his victories over the Athenians; the ſtrange loves of Paſiphae; and that man, ſtill more ſtrange, who was born with the head of a bull, and who was named Minotaur. Stratonicus, while he collected the moſt contradictory traditions, and abſurd

[e] Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 120. Id. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 114. Plat. in Hipp. Min. t. i. p. 363. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192.

[f] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334.

[g] Diod. Sic. ibid.

[h] Id. lib. 5. p. 336, &c.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 338.

[k] Id. lib. 4. p. 225. Plut. de Inimic Util. t. ii. p. 86. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 3. cap. 32. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 58. t. i. p. 484.



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fables, treated them as important and incontestable truths, from which resulted a ridicule so glaring that we trembled for him; but the multitude, intoxicated with the praises which he so profusely lavished on them, would scarcely suffer him to proceed for their applause.

When he had concluded his harangue, he came and joined us. We asked him whether, while he entertained himself at the expence of the people, he had not feared irritating them by the extravagance of his praises? No, replied he; the modesty of nations, like that of individuals, is so mild a virtue, that it easily pardons any insult of that kind.

The road which leads to the cave of Jupiter is very pleasant: it is bordered by lofty trees; and has on each side of it charming meadows, and a grove of cypress trees, of remarkable height and beauty: the grove is consecrated to the gods, as is also a temple at which we afterward arrived [l].

At the entrance of the cavern a number of offerings are suspended. We were shown, as a singularity, one of those black poplars which bear fruit annually; and we were told that others grew in the environs, on the borders of the fountain Saurus [m]. The length of the cave may be about two hundred feet, and its breadth twenty [n]. At the bottom we saw a seat which is called the Throne of Jupiter; and near it this inscription, in ancient characters, *This is the tomb of Zan* [o] *.

As it was believed that the god revealed himself, in the sacred cavern, to those who repaired thither to consult him, men of genius took advantage of this error to enlighten or mislead the people. It is, in fact, affirmed that Minos [p], Epimenides, and Pythagoras, when they wished to give a divine

l Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 625.
m Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 124.
n Benedit. Bordon. Isolar. p. 49.
o Meurs. in Cret. lib. 1, cap. 4. p. 78.
* Zan is the same as Zεν, Jupiter. It appears, by a coin in the cabinet of the king of France, that the Cretans pronounced TAN. (Mem. de l' Acad. t. xxvi. p. 546.) This inscription was not of very great antiquity.
p Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 179. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 319.

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ſanction to their laws or their opinions, deſcended into this cave, and remained ſhut up in it for a certain time [q].

From the tomb of Jupiter we proceeded to the city of Gortyna, one of the principal in the iſland. It is ſituated at the entrance of a very fertile plain. On our arrival we were preſent at the trial of a man accuſed of adultery. He was found guilty, and treated as one who had become the vile ſlave of his ſenſes. Deprived of the privileges of a citizen, he appeared in public with a crown of wool, the ſymbol of effeminacy, and was obliged to pay a conſiderable ſum of money [r].

We were made to aſcend a hill, by a very rough road [s], till we came to the entrance of a cavern, the inſide of which preſented innumerable circuits and windings. There we ſee diſtinctly the danger of a firſt miſtake: for there the error of a moment may coſt the unwary traveller his life. Our guides, whom long experience had made acquainted with every turning of theſe dark retreats, were provided with torches. We followed a kind of alley wide enough to admit two or three men to paſs in front; and in ſome places of the height of ſeven or eight feet, but in others only two or three. After having walked, or crept, the diſtance of about twelve hundred paces, we came to two halls, almoſt round, each twenty-four feet in diameter, and having no other outlet but the way that had brought us to them. Both were cut in the rock, as was likewiſe a part of the paſſage which led to them [t].

Our guides pretended that this vaſt cavern was that famous labyrinth in which Theſeus killed the Minotaur that Minos kept ſhut up there. They added, that at firſt the labyrinth was only intended for a priſon [u] *.

[q] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 3.
[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. Not. Perizon. ibid.
[s] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 67.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 65.
[u] Philoch. ap. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 6.
* See note at the end of the volume



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In mountainous countries, the want of maps frequently obliged us to aſcend an eminence, to diſcover the relative poſition of the places around us. The ſummit of Mount Ida preſented us with a ſtation that commanded a moſt extenſive proſpect. We took with us proviſions for ſome days; and made part of the journey on horſeback, and part on foot [x]. As we aſcended the mountain, we viſited the caves which were the dwellings of the firſt inhabitants of Crete [y]. We paſſed through woods of oaks, maples, and cedars; and admired the ſize of the cypreſs trees, and the height of the arbutes and andrachnes [z]. As we proceeded, the road became more rugged and ſteep, and the country more deſert. Our way lay ſometimes along the edge of precipices; and, to render our journey more tireſome, we were obliged to endure the frigid reflections of our hoſt, who compared the different regions of the mountains, ſometimes to the different ages of life, and ſometimes to the dangers of elevation, and the viciſſitudes of fortune. Could you have imagined, ſaid he, that this enormous maſs, which in the midſt of our iſland occupies a ſpace of ſix hundred ſtadia in circumference [a] *, which has ſucceſſively preſented to our view ſuperb foreſts, valleys, and delightful meadows [b], animals wild and tame [c], and abundant ſprings which pour forth their waters to fertilize our plains [d]—would at laſt terminate in ſome rocks inceſſantly beaten by the winds, and perpetually covered with ice and ſnow [e]?

Crete muſt be reckoned among the largeſt iſlands hitherto known [f]: its length from eaſt to weſt is, it is ſaid, 2500 ſta-

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[x] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 52.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334.
[z] Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 503. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8. cap 3. p. 121; lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 283. Meurſ. in Cret. cap. 9. Belon. Obſerv. liv. 1. chap. 16, 17.
[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 475.
* 22½ leagues.
[b] Theophraſt. de Vent. p. 405. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 338. Weſſel. Not. in Diod. t. i. p. 386. Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 2. cap 3. p. 73. Belon. Obſerv. liv. 1. chap. 16.
[c] Meurſ. ibid. cap. 8. p. 100.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 89.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 338. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 53.
[f] Scyl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 56. Tim. ap. Strab. lib 14. p. 554. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 568.

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dia [g] *; its breadth in the middle is about 400 [h] †, but much leſs in every other part [i]. To the ſouth the ſea of Libya bathes its coaſts, and to the north the Ægean; to the eaſt it approaches Aſia, and to the weſt Europe [k]. It abounds in mountains; ſome of which, though not ſo lofty as Mount Ida, are yet extremely high. In the weſtern part of the iſland, the moſt conſpicuous are the *White Mountains*, which form a chain three hundred ſtadia in length [l] ‡.

On the ſea coaſts, and within the country, are rich meadows, covered with numerous flocks: well cultivated plains preſent ſucceſſively an abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, and fruits of every kind [m]. The iſland produces a number of ſalutary plants [n]; the trees are very large and flouriſhing, and cypreſſes delight much in the ſoil: they grow, it is ſaid, amid the eternal ſnows which crown the White Mountains, and which give to them their name [o].

Crete was very populous in the time of Homer, and was eſtimated to contain ninety or a hundred cities [p]. I know not whether the number has ſince increaſed or diminiſhed. It is ſaid that the moſt ancient were built on the ſides of mountains, and that the inhabitants deſcended into the plains when the winter was more ſevere and long than uſual [q]. I have already remarked, in my journey through Theſſaly, that at Lariſſa the inhabitants complained of the ſucceſſive increaſe of cold §.

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[g] Scyl. ibid. Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 24. Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 8.

* 94½ leagues.

[h] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 209.

† 15⅝ leagues.

[i] Strab. lib. 10. p. 475.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 474.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 475.

‡ 11¼ leagues.

[m] Strab. ibid. Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 19. v. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 343. Tourneſ. Voyag. t. i. p. 23. 37. 42, &c. Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 94; cap. 9. p. 102.

[n] Meurſ. ibid. cap. 10. p. 108.

[o] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 118; lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 283. Plin. lib 16. cap. 33. t. ii. p. 25. Tourneſ. Voyag. t. i. p. 28.

[p] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 19. v. 174. Id. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 649. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. t. i. p. 313.

[q] Theophr. de Vent. p. 405.

§ See Chap. XXXV.



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The country being every where mountainous and unequal, the Cretans are leſs uſed to the race with horſes than the foot race. By continually exerciſing the bow and ſling, they are become the beſt archers and ſlingers in Greece [r].

The iſland is of difficult acceſs [s]. The greater part of its harbours are expoſed to the wind [t]; but as it is eaſy to get out of them when the weather is favourable, they are convenient for expeditions deſtined to any part of the world [u]. Ships which ſail from the moſt eaſtern promontory, employ but three or four days in their paſſage to Egypt [x]; and in only ten reach the Palus Mæotis, beyond the Euxine Sea [y].

The poſition of the Cretans in the midſt of all known nations, the extreme populouſneſs of their iſland, and the riches of their ſoil, would incline us to believe that nature had deſtined them to reduce all Greece under their yoke [z]. Before the war of Troy they had ſubjected a part of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea [a], and formed ſettlements on ſeveral of the coaſts of Aſia and Europe [b]. At the breaking out of this war, eighty of their ſhips ſailed to the ſhores of Ilium, under the command of Idomeneus and Merion [c]. Soon after, the ſpirit of conqueſt was extinguiſhed among them; and in theſe later times has been ſucceeded by ſentiments which it would be difficult to juſtify. At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, they obtained from the Pythia an oracle, by which they were diſpenſed from affording ſuccours to Greece [d]; and during the Peloponneſian war, influenced not by a principle of juſtice, but by a thirſt of gain, they ſent a body of archers

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[r] Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 3. cap. 11, p. 177. Belon. Obſerv. liv. 1. chap. 5.
[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333, E.
[t] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 19. v. 189. Euſtath. ibid. t. iii. p. 1861. lin. 43.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 225.
[x] Strab. lib. 10. p. 475.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 167.
[z] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332.
[a] Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 128.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 210.
[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 645.
[d] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 169.

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and ſlingers to enter into the pay of the Athenians, who had requeſted this aſſiſtance from them [e].

But ſuch was never the ſpirit of their laws; thoſe laws the more celebrated; as they have given birth to others ſtill more excellent. Let us regret that we cannot here cite all thoſe which are relative to this great object. Let us at leaſt pronounce with reſpect the name of Rhadamanthus, who from the moſt ancient times laid the foundations of legiſlation [f]; and that of Minos, who raiſed the ſuperſtructure.

Lycurgus borrowed from the Cretans the practice of repaſts in common, the rigid rules of public education, and ſeveral other particulars, which ſeem to eſtabliſh a perfect conformity between his laws and thoſe of Crete. Why then have the Cretans more early and more ſhamefully degenerated from their inſtitutions than the Spartans? Unleſs I am miſtaken, the following are the principal cauſes.

1. In a country ſurrounded by ſeas and mountains, which ſeparate it from the neighbouring regions, each people it contains muſt ſacrifice one part of their liberty to preſerve the other; and, for their mutual protection, unite their intereſts in one common centre. Sparta having become, by the valour of its inhabitants, or the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, the capital of Laconia, diſſenſions are rarely ſeen to ariſe within that country. But in Crete, the cities of Cnoſſus, Gortyna, Cydonia, Phæſtus, Lyctos, and a number of others, form ſo many independent republics, who are jealous enemies, and conſtantly at war with each other [g]. When a rupture takes place between the people of Cnoſſus and Gortyna her rival, the iſland is diſtracted with factions; and when they are united, it is in danger of being reduced to ſlavery [h].

[e] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 57.
[f] Ephor. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. & 482.
[h] Strab. lib. 10. p. 478, 479. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 319.



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2. At the head of each of these republics, ten magistrates, named Cosmi [i] *, are charged with the administration of the government, and the command of the armies. They consult with the senate; and lay the decrees, which they draw up in concert with that body, before the assembly of the people, which only possesses the privilege of confirming them [k]. This constitution has an essential defect. The cosmi are only chosen from a certain class of citizens; and as, after their year of office has expired, they possess the exclusive right of filling the vacant places in the senate, the consequence is, that a small number of families, invested with the whole authority of the state, refuse to obey the laws; exercise, by uniting, the most despotic power; or, by opposing each other, excite the most fatal seditions [l].

3. The laws of Lycurgus establish equality of possessions among the citizens, and preserve it by prohibiting commerce and industry; but those of Crete permit every person to increase his property [m]. The former forbid all communication with foreign nations; but this stroke of genius escaped the legislators of Crete. That island is open to merchants and travellers from all countries, who import the contagion of riches and that of evil example. It appears that Lycurgus justly relied more on the purity of manners than on the excellence of laws. What has been the result? In no country have the laws been so respected as by the magistrates and citizens of Sparta. The Cretan legislators seem to have laid greater stress on the laws than on manners, and to have been more careful to punish than to prevent crimes: the consequence has been, injustice in the heads of the state, and corruption in individuals [n].

[i] Chishull. Antiq. Asiat. p. 108.

* This name, which is sometimes written in Greek, Κόσμοι, and sometimes Κόσμιοι, may signify Regulators or Inspectors (Chish. Antiq. Asiat. p. 123). Ancient authors sometimes compare them to the Ephori at Lacedæmon.

[k] Aristot. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333.

[l] Arist. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 490.

[m] Polyb. ibid. p. 489.

[n] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 490. Meurs. in Cret. lib. 4. cap. 10. p. 231.

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The law of ſyncretiſm, which enjoins all the inhabitants of the iſland to unite if a foreign power ſhould attempt a deſcent, would be inſufficient to defend them either againſt their internal diſſenſions or againſt the arms of an enemy [o]; becauſe it would only ſuſpend, inſtead of extinguiſhing animoſities, and would ſuffer too many individual intereſts to ſubſiſt in a general confederation.

We were told of ſeveral Cretans who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by cultivating poetry or the arts. Epimenides, who boaſted that, by certain religious ceremonies, he could avert the anger of heaven, became much more celebrated than Myſon, who was placed among the number of the ſages [p].

In ſeveral places in Greece, pretended monuments of the higheſt antiquity are preſerved with reverence. At Chæronea is the ſceptre of Agamemnon [q]; and elſewhere the club of Hercules [r], and the ſpear of Achilles [s]: but I was more ſolicitous to diſcover, in the maxims and uſages of a people, the relics of their ancient wiſdom. The Cretans never employ the names of the gods in their oaths [t]. To guard againſt the dangers of eloquence, the profeſſors of oratory were forbidden to enter their iſland [u]; and, though they are at preſent more indulgent on this head, they ſtill ſpeak with the preciſion of the Spartans, and are more attentive to the thought than the words [x].

I was witneſs to a quarrel between two Cnoſſians; one of whom, in a fit of paſſion, ſaid to the other, "May you live in bad company;" and immediately left him. I was informed that this was conſidered the bittereſt imprecation that could be uttered againſt an enemy [y].

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[o] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 333. Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 490.
[p] Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 4. cap. 11, &c.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 40. p. 795.
[r] Id. lib. 2. cap. 31. p. 185.
[s] Id. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 211.
[t] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 3. § 16. p. 251. Meurſ. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 195.
[u] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 292.
[x] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 161. E.
[y] Val. Max. lib. 7. cap. 2. Extern. No. 18.



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Some of the Cretans keep a kind of regiſter of their fortunate and unfortunate days; and as they eſtimate the duration of their lives only by the former, they order this ſingular inſcription to be engraven on their tombs: "Here lies ſuch a one, who exiſted during ſo many years, and lived ſo many [z]."

A merchant ſhip, and a galley with two benches of oars, being ready to ſail immediately from the port of Cnoſſus [a] for Samos, we choſe to embark on board the former, though on account of its round ſhape it was not ſo ſwift a ſailer as the other, becauſe it was to touch at the iſlands that we propoſed to viſit.

We compoſed a company of travellers who could never be wearied of each other. Sometimes, as we ſailed along the coaſt, we admired the reſemblance and variety of the proſpects; and ſometimes, leſs attentive to external objects, we diſcuſſed with warmth queſtions which in fact intereſted us but little. At other times we employed our leiſure on ſubjects of philoſophy, literature, and hiſtory. One day the converſation turned on the urgent neceſſity we feel to communicate the ſtrong emotions raiſed in our ſouls. One among us cited the reflection of the philoſopher Archytas: "Were any one to be carried up into the heavens, he would be tranſported with the grandeur and beauty of the ſpectacle; but to the raviſhment of admiration would ſoon ſucceed the poignant regret, that he had no companion to ſhare with him in his delight [b]." In this converſation I collected ſome other remarks—In Perſia it is not permitted to ſpeak of things which it is not permitted to do [c]—Old men live more on the memory of the paſt than on the hope of the future [d]—How often has a work, which has been oſtentatiouſly announced, diſappointed the expectations of the public [e]!

[z] Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 230.
[a] Strab. lib 10. p. 476.
[b] Cicer. de Amic. cap 23. t. iii p. 349.
[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 138.
[d] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 565, B.
[e] Iſocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 54.



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In the converſation of another day, the citizen of Athens was ſtigmatized as infamous, who gave his vote againſt Ariſtides, becauſe he was diſguſted at hearing him continually ſtyled *the Juſt* [f]. I feel, replied Proteſilaus, that in a moment of peeviſhneſs I might have done the ſame myſelf; but I ſhould firſt have ſaid to the general aſſembly, Ariſtides is juſt, ſo alſo am I, and others likewiſe are equally ſo. What right have you to beſtow on him excluſively a title which is the moſt noble of rewards? Your praiſes become pernicious; and only tend to corrupt virtue which is conſpicuous, and diſcourage that which is obſcure. I eſteem Ariſtides, yet I condemn him; not becauſe I believe him culpable, but becauſe, by mortifying me, you have forced me to be unjuſt.

The converſation afterwards turned on Timon, who was ſurnamed the Miſanthrope, and whoſe hiſtory has in ſome meaſure a connection with that of manners. No perſon among our company had known him, but all had heard their fathers ſpeak of him differently. Some drew an advantageous portrait of him, and others painted him in the blackeſt colours [g]. In the midſt of theſe diſputes, a formal accuſation, ſimilar to thoſe preſented to the tribunals of Athens, was brought againſt him in theſe words: "Stratonicus accuſes Timon of having hated all mankind; the puniſhment, the hatred of all mankind." It was agreed to hear the cauſe; and Philotas was appointed advocate for Timon. I ſhall give a ſummary of the arguments on each ſide.

I accuſe before your tribunal, ſaid Stratonicus, a ferocious and perfidious character. Some friends of Timon having, as is pretended, repaid the benefits they had received from him with ingratitude [h], the whole human race became the object

[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 1.

[g] Tanaquil. Faber. in Lucian. Timon. p. 89. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiv. p. 74.

[h] Lucian. in Tim. t. i. § 8. p. 114.

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of his vengeance [1]; and he inceſſantly vented his ſpleen againſt the meaſures of the government, and the actions of individuals. As if every virtue were to expire with him, he only beheld on the earth impoſture and guilt, took offence even at the politeneſs of the Athenians, and declared that he was better pleaſed with their contempt than their eſteem. Ariſtophanes, who was acquainted with him, repreſents him as ſurrounded with a hedge of thorns, which permitted no one to approach him: he ſays, likewiſe, that he was deteſted by all, and looked on as the offspring of the furies [k].

But this is not all; he was a traitor to his country, of which I can bring proof. Alcibiades having prevailed on the general aſſembly to approve of ſome projects hurtful to the ſtate, "Bravely done my boy!" ſaid Timon to him; "I congratulate you on your ſucceſs: proceed as you have begun, and you will be the ruin of the republic [l]."—How deſtable are ſuch expreſſions! and who will dare to undertake the defence of ſuch a man?

That, replied Philotas, I have been appointed to perform, and I ſhall proceed to acquit myſelf of the charge. Let us firſt examine what effect the words of Timon produced on the crowd of Athenians who accompanied Alcibiades. Some indeed loaded him him with invectives, but others laughed aloud; and thoſe of moſt ſenſe were ſtruck as with a ray of light [m]. Thus Timon foreſaw, and foretold the danger, but was not liſtened to. To blacken him ſtill more, you have quoted Ariſtophanes, without perceiving that his teſtimony is ſufficient to juſtify the accuſed. "It is that Timon," ſays the poet, "that execrable man, ſprung from the Furies, who inceſſantly pours forth imprecations againſt rogues and raſcals [n]." You perceive, Stratonicus, that the crime of Timon was that he reviled men of baſe character.

[1] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 4. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 338. Id. de Amic. cap. 23. t. iii. p. 349. Plin. l. 7. c. 19. t. i. p. 385.

[k] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 810; in Av. v. 1548.

[l] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199. in Anton. p. 948.

[m] Id. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199.

[n] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 816.

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He lived at a time in which ancient manners ſtill maintained a ſtruggle againſt the paſſions leagued for their deſtruction. This is a period pregnant with the moſt momentous conſequences to a ſtate. Then is it that in feeble and indolent minds, the virtues are indulgent, and accommodate themſelves to circumſtances; while in vigorous characters they redouble their ſeverity, and ſometimes become odious by their inflexible rigour. To much wit and integrity, Timon added the light of philoſophy [o]; but ſoured perhaps by misfortune, or, perhaps, by the rapid progreſs of corruption, he indulged in ſuch aſperity in his language and behaviour as gave offence to every body. He fought in the ſame cauſe as Socrates, who was his contemporary; and as Diogenes, between whom and him there was a conſiderable reſemblance [p]. Their fate has depended on their different kinds of attack. Diogenes combated vice with ridicule, and we laugh with him; Socrates aſſailed it with the weapons of reaſon, and it coſt him his life; Timon attacked it with ſourneſs and aſperity: he ceaſed to be dangerous, and was treated as a miſanthrope; a term at that time new, which deſtroyed his credit with the multitude, and will perhaps be its deſtruction with poſterity [q].

I cannot believe that Timon meant to include the whole human race in his cenſure. He loved women [r].—No, replied Stratonicus immediately; he muſt have been unacquainted with love, ſince he knew not friendſhip. Recollect what he ſaid to that Athenian who ſeemed to be a favourite with him, and who, when they were ſupping privately together, having exclaimed—O Timon, what an agreeable repaſt! received only this inſulting anſwer: Yes, if you were not preſent [s].

This, replied Philotas, was perhaps only a pleaſantry ſuggeſted by the circumſtance. Let us not judge of Timon from

[o] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 19. t. i. p. 385. Suid. in Τίμ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 816.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Anthol. lib. 3. p. 218.
[r] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 820.
[s] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 948.

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the idle rumours raiſed againſt him by his enemies, but from the effuſions of his heart, which were forced from him by his indignation in the cauſe of virtue; and the originality of which could never diſpleaſe perſons of taſte: for, from a man who carries the love of the public good to too great a length, the ſallies of petulance are poignant, becauſe they diſplay the whole of his character. He one day aſcended the roſtrum: the people, ſurpriſed at this unexpected ſight, kept a profound ſilence. "Athenians," ſaid he, "I have a ſmall piece of ground, on which I mean to build. There is a fig-tree in it, which I muſt cut down. Several citizens have hanged themſelves on this tree, and if any of you have a deſire to do the ſame, I now give you notice that you have not a moment to loſe [t]."

Stratonicus, who was unacquainted with this anecdote, was ſo entertained with it, that he gave up his acouſation. The votes of the company, however, were collected; and it was determined that, by the aſperity of his zeal, Timon had loſt the opportunity of rendering real ſervice to morals: but but that intractable virtue is leſs dangerous than inert complaiſance; and that, if the greater part of the Athenians had held knaves and villains in the ſame deteſtation as they held Timon, the republic would ſtill retain its ancient ſplendour.

After this deciſion, ſeveral perſons expreſſed their ſurpriſe that the Greeks had never erected any temples to Friendſhip. —I am ſtill more aſtoniſhed, replied Lyſis, that they have never dedicated any to Love. What! ſhall there be no feſtivals nor ſacrifices in honour of the moſt ancient and moſt beautiful of the gods [u]? An ample ſubject now lay open before us, which had repeatedly been diſcuſſed. The ancient traditions and modern opinions on the nature of love were adduced. Some acknowledged but one kind of

[t] Id. ibid. p. 948.
[u] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 120. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 701. Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 177, 178, &c.

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love, and others diſtinguiſhed ſeveral [x]. Others admitted only two; the one celeſtial and pure, and the other terreſtrial and groſs [y]. Some gave this name to the principle which reduced to order the parts of matter agitated in chaos [z], to the harmony which reigns throughout the univerſe, or to the ſentiments which unite mankind [a]. Wearied at length with ſo much learning and obſcurity, I requeſted the diſputants to reduce this long conteſt to a ſingle point. Do you conſider, ſaid I, Love as a god? No, anſwered Stratonicus, he is a beggar ſoliciting alms [b]. He was beginning to explain his thought, when he was ſeized with a mortal panic. A violent guſt of wind came on, and our pilot ſeemed to employ every reſource of his art to no purpoſe. Lyſis, whom Stratonicus had never ceaſed to importune with queſtions, ſeized this moment to aſk him, which veſſels he thought leaſt expoſed to danger, the round built or the ſquare? Thoſe, replied he, which are ſafe on dry ground [c]. He ſoon had the happineſs to arrive at this deſirable ſituation. A briſk gale carried us into the port of Cos; we leaped on ſhore, and the veſſel was drawn upon land.

This iſland is ſmall, but very pleaſant. If we except ſome mountains that defend it from the violent ſouth winds, the country is level, and extremely fertile [d]. An earthquake having deſtroyed part of the ancient city [e], and the inhabitants being afterward diſtracted by factions, the greater part, ſome years ſince, ſettled at the foot of a promontory, at the diſtance of forty ſtadia * from the continent of Aſia. No ſituation can preſent richer proſpects; nor can any thing be conceived more magnificent than the harbour, walls, and edifices of the new

[x] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 23. t. ii. p. 506.
[y] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 180.
[z] Cud. Syſtem. Intellect. t. i. p. 160. Moſhem. not. x. p. 161. Bruck. t. i. p. 416.
[a] Plat. ibid. p. 179, 186, &c.
[b] Plat. in Conv. p. 200 et 203. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 280.
[c] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 350.
[d] Strab. lib. 14. p. 657.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 41. Strab. ibid.
* About a league and a half.

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city [f]. The celebrated temple of Æſculapius, ſituated in the ſuburb, is full of offerings, the tribute of the gratitude of the ſick; and inſcriptions which indicate the maladies by which they were afflicted, and the remedies in which they found a cure [g].

A more noble object engaged our attention. In this iſland was born Hippocrates, in the firſt year of the eightieth Olympiad [h]*. He was of the family of the Aſclepiadæ [i], which for many ages has preſerved the doctrine of Æſculapius, from whom it derives its origin [k]. It has formed three ſchools; one of which is eſtabliſhed at Rhodes, another at Cnidus, and the third at Cos [l]. Hippocrates was inſtructed by his father Heraclides in the elements of the ſciences; and being ſoon convinced, that, to attain to the knowledge of the eſſence of each body in particular, it was neceſſary to aſcend to the conſtituent principles of the univerſe [m], he applied himſelf with ſuch aſſiduity to the ſtudy of phyſics in general, that he obtained an honourable rank among thoſe who have been moſt diſtinguiſhed in that part of ſcience [n].

The improvement of medicine then depended on two claſſes of men, who laboured, without the knowledge of each other, to give it new ſplendour. On the one hand, the philoſophers could not beſtow their attention on the general ſyſtem of nature, without glancing on the human body, and aſſigning to certain cauſes the changes to which it is liable; and, on the other, the diſciples of Æſculapius treated maladies according to rules that had been confirmed by numerous cures, and their three ſchools congratulated each other on many excel-

[f] Died. Sic. lib. 15. p. 386.
[g] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374; lib. 14. p. 657.
[h] Soran. Vit. Hippocr. Frer. Def. de la Chronol. p. 121. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 199.
* The year 460 before Chriſt.
[i] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 270.
[k] Soran. Vit. Hippocr. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 841.
[l] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 1. t. iv. p. 35 lin. 17.
[m] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 270. Theophraſt. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 266. Galen. ibid. p. 36. lin. 28.
[n] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 534.

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lent diſcoveries [o]. The philoſophers reaſoned, the Aſclepiadæ acted. Hippocrates, enriched with the knowledge of both, conceived one of thoſe great and important ideas which ſerve as æras in the hiſtory of genius; this was, to enlighten experience by reaſoning, and rectify theory by practice [p]. In this theory, however, he only admitted principles which may explain the phænomena obſervable in the human body, conſidered with reſpect to ſickneſs or health [q].

Improved by this new method, the art of phyſic, exalted to the dignity of a ſcience, made a more certain progreſs in the path opened before it [r]; and Hippocrates ſilently effected a revolution which has changed the face of medicine. I ſhall not enlarge on the happy experiments he made of new remedies [s], nor on the prodigies he wrought in all the places he honoured with his preſence; eſpecially in Theſſaly, where, after a long reſidence, he died, a ſhort time before my arrival in Greece. But I ſhall ſay, that neither the love of gain, nor the deſire of celebrity, led him into thoſe diſtant climates. From all that has been related to me concerning him, I have perceived in his ſoul but one ſentiment—the love of doing good; and in the courſe of his long life but one ſingle act—the relieving of the ſick [t].

He has left behind him ſeveral works. Some are only journals of the maladies he had followed through their various ſtages; others contain the obſervations of his own experience, and that of preceding ages; and others treat of the duties of the phyſician, and of various parts of medicine or of natural philoſophy. They all require attentive ſtudy; becauſe the author frequently merely ſcatters the ſeeds of his doctrine [u],

[o] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 1. t. iv. p. 35. lin. 16.
[p] Celſ. de Re Med. in Præfat. Dacier, Préf. de la Trad. des Œuvres d'Hippocr. Le Clerc, Hiſt. de la Médec. liv. 3. chap. 1.
[q] Hippocr. de Princ. t. i. p. 112.
[r] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 2. t. iv. p. 53. lin. 27; lib. 9. p. 134. lin. 23.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 84. lin. 36. et alibi.
[t] Galen. de Decret. lib. 9. t. i. p. 334. lin. 25.
[u] Id. Method. Medend. lib. 7. t. iv. p. 106. lin. 52.



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and becauſe his ſtyle is always conciſe: but he ſays a great deal in a few words; never wanders from the end he has in view; and, while he haſtens towards it, leaves in his way traces of light which are more or leſs perceptible, according as the reader is more or leſs intelligent [x]. This was the method of the ancient philoſophers, who were ever more deſirous to point out new than to dwell on trite ideas.

This great man has pourtrayed himſelf in his writings. Nothing can be more affecting than the candour with which he gives an account of his failures and his errors. Here we read a liſt of the ſick whom he attended in an epidemical diſtemper, and of whom the greater part died under his hands [y]. There we behold him called to the aſſiſtance of a Theſſalian, who had been wounded in the head by a blow with a ſtone. He did not at firſt perceive that it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the trepan; but ſome dangerous ſymptoms at length diſcovered to him his miſtake. The operation was performed on the fifteenth day, and the patient died the day after [z]. It is from himſelf that we have received theſe accounts; for ſo ſuperior was he to every kind of vanity, that he wiſhed that even his very miſtakes might be uſeful as leſſons.

Not ſatisfied with having dedicated his life to the relief of the ſick, and having depoſited in his writings the principles of a ſcience of which he was the creator, he has alſo laid down rules for forming the phyſician, of which I ſhall give a ſlight ſketch.

Life is ſo ſhort, and the art we exerciſe ſo long, that the ſtudy of it ſhould be begun in earlieſt youth [a]. Have you a pupil you would educate for the practice of medicine, examine leiſurely whether his genius be adapted to the art. Has he received from Nature an exquiſite diſcernment, a ſound judg-

[x] Id. de Vict. Rat. comm. 1. t. v. p. 51. lin. 29. Id. de Elem. lib. 2. t. i. p. 58. lin. 25.

[y] Hippocr. Epid. lib. 1, 2, 3, &c.

[z] Id. ibid. lib. 5. § 14. t. i. p. 778.

[a] Id. in Leg. § 2. t. i. p. 41. Id. in Aphor. § 1. p. 68.

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ment, a character in which mildneſs and firmneſs are combined, the love of labour, and an inclination to what is amiable and praiſe-worthy [b], you will entertain well-founded hopes. Does he ſuffer with the ſufferings of others; does he naturally feel the tendereſt commiſeration for the woes incident to his fellow mortals; you will reaſonably infer that he will be paſſionately devoted to an art that will inſtruct him in what manner to afford them relief [c].

Accuſtom him early to the manual operations of ſurgery *, except thoſe of lithotomy, which ſhould be left to operators by profeſſion [d]. Lead him in order through the whole circle of the ſciences. Let natural philoſophy ſhow him the influence of climate on the human body; and when, to extend his knowledge and experience, he ſhall travel through different countries and cities [e], counſel him carefully to obſerve the ſituation of places, the difference of the air, the waters which are drunk, and the eatables which are the principal food of the inhabitants; in a word, all the cauſes that may occaſion diſorder in the animal œconomy [f].

You ſhall alſo ſhow him, in the mean time, by what preceding ſigns maladies may be known, by what regimen they may be avoided, and by what remedies cured.

When he ſhall be inſtructed in your doctrines, which ſhall be clearly explained in ſtated conferences, and which you ſhall reduce to ſhort maxims proper to be impreſſed on the memory [g], it will be neceſſary to inform him that experience alone is leſs dangerous than theory deſtitute of experience [h]; that it is time to apply general principles to particular caſes, which,

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[b] Hippocr. in Leg. § 2. Id. de Decent. t. i § 2. p 53; § 5. p. 55; § 7. p 56; § 11. p 59. Le Clerc. Hiſt. de la Médec. liv. 3. chap. 29.

[c] Hippocr. in Præcept. § 5. t. i. p. 63.

* They at that time made a part of the art of medicine.

[d] Hippocr. in Jusjur. § 2. t. i. p 43.

[e] Id in Leg. § 3. t. i. p. 42.

[f] Id. de Aer. Aq. et Loc. t. i. p. 327.

[g] Id. in Jusjur. § 1. t. i. p. 43. Dacier, Trad. des Œuvres d'Hippocr. t. i. p. 150.

[h] Hippocr. in Præcept. § 1. 2. t. i. p. 60. Ariſtot. Metaph. t. ii. p. 839.



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inceſſantly varying, have frequently miſled phyſicians by deceitful reſemblances [j]; that it is not in the duſt of the ſchool, nor in the works of philoſophers [k], that we can learn the art of interrogating nature, and the ſtill more difficult art of waiting her anſwer. With nature he is yet unacquainted; he has hitherto only noticed her in full vigour, and arriving at the end at which ſhe aims without meeting with obſtacles [l]. You ſhall conduct him to thoſe abodes of pain, where, already veiled with the ſhades of death, expoſed to the violent attacks of the enemy, falling, and riſing only to ſink again, ſhe diſplays to the attentive eye her wants and her reſources. The diſciple, while he witneſſes this terrible combat, ſhall obſerve you watch and ſeize the inſtant which may decide the victory, and ſave the life of the patient. If for ſome moments you quit the field of battle, you ſhall direct him to remain there, to obſerve every thing, and afterwards render to you an account both of the changes which have taken place during your abſence, and of the remedies which he judges to be requiſite [m].

It is by obliging him to be frequently preſent at theſe terrible but inſtructive ſcenes, that you ſhall initiate him, as much as poſſible, into the moſt profound ſecrets of nature and art. But this is not yet enough: when, for a ſmall ſalary, you ſhall have adopted him for a diſciple, he ſhall ſwear to preſerve in his manners and practice an incorruptible purity [n], and ſtrictly fulfil his oath. Without the virtues requiſite to his profeſſion, he can never diſcharge its duties. What are theſe virtues? I ſcarcely except any one, ſince his functions are ſo honourable that they require almoſt all the nobleſt qualities of the mind and heart [o]; and, in fact, what head of a family, were he not aſſured of his diſcretion and integrity,

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j Id. Epid. lib. 6. § 3. t. i. p. 805; § 8. p. 822.
k Id. de Princip. t. i. § 1. p. 112. Id. de Diæt. § 2. t. i. p. 279.
l Id. Epid. lib. 6. § 3, t. i. p 809.
m Id. de Decent. § 12. t. i. p. 59.
n Id. in Jusjur. § 2. t. i. p. 43.
o Id. de Decent. § 3. t. i. p. 55.

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would not fear to call him in, leſt he ſhould introduce a ſpy into his houſe, and a ſeducer to his wife and daughters [p]? What dependence can be placed on his humanity, if he only accoſt his patients with an offenſive gaiety, or a diſguſting petulance [q]? on his firmneſs, if by a ſervile adulation he too much fear their diſpleaſure, and give way to their caprices [r]? on his prudence, if continually occupied with his dreſs, arrayed in magnificent habits, and perfumed with eſſences, he is ſeen to ſtroll from city to city, to pronounce, in honour of his art, harangues filled with quotations from the poets [s]? What reliance can be placed on his underſtanding, if, beſides that general juſtice which the man of ſenſe and integrity obſerves towards every one [t], he does not poſſeſs that which the ſage exerciſes towards himſelf, and which teaches him, that in the midſt of the greateſt knowledge there is more of want than of abundance [u]? And, laſtly, what confidence can be repoſed in the ſincerity of his intentions, if he be under the dominion of a fooliſh pride, and that mean envy which was never the portion of ſuperior genius [x]; if, ſacrificing every other conſideration to the thirſt of gain, he devote himſelf only to the ſervice of the rich [y]; if, authoriſed by cuſtom to ſtipulate his reward at the beginning of the malady, he is careful firſt to conclude his bargain, although the caſe of the patient becomes every moment more dangerous [z]?

Theſe vices and defects eſpecially characterize thoſe ignorant and preſumptuous men with whom Greece is filled, and who diſgrace the moſt noble of the arts by trafficking in the life and death of men; impoſtors the more dangerous, as they are beyond the reach of the laws, and as they cannot be mortified even by ignominy [a].

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[p] Id. in Juſjur. § 2. t. i. p. 43. Id. de Med. § 1. p. 45.
[q] Id. de Med. ibid.
[r] Id. de Decent. § 10, 11. t. i. p. 58.
[s] Id. ibid. § 2. p. 52, 53. Id. in Præcept. § 9. p. 66. Id. de Med. § 1. p. 44.
[t] Id de Med. § 1. t. i. p. 45.
[u] Id. in Præcept. § 7. t. i. p. 65.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 64.
[y] Id. ibid. § 5, 6. p. 63.
[z] Id. ibid. § 2. p. 62.
[a] Id. in Leg. § 1. t. i. p. 40.



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Who then is the phyſician who is an honour to his profeſſion? He who has merited the public eſteem by profound knowledge, long experience, conſummate integrity, and an irreproachable life [b]; he who, eſteeming all the wretched as equals, as all men are equals in the eyes of the Divine Being, eagerly haſtens to their aſſiſtance at their call, without diſtinction of perſons [c]; ſpeaks to them with mildneſs, liſtens to them with attention, bears with their impatience, and inſpires them with that confidence which is ſometimes ſufficient to reſtore them to life [d]; who, ſenſibly feeling for their ſufferings, carefully and aſſiduouſly ſtudies the cauſe and progreſs of their complaint, is never diſconcerted by unforeſeen accidents [e], and holds it a duty, in caſe of neceſſity, to call in ſome of his brethren in the healing art to aſſiſt him with their advice [f]; he, in fine, who, after having ſtruggled with all his ſtrength againſt the malady, is happy and modeſt in ſucceſs, and may at leaſt congratulate himſelf, in caſe of failure, that he has been able to alleviate the pains of his patient, and adminiſter to him conſolation.

Such is the philoſophical phyſician whom Hippocrates compares to a god [g], without perceiving that he has delineated the portrait of himſelf. Several perſons, who from the excellence of their own merit were qualified to judge of the ſuperiority of his, have often affirmed to me that phyſicians will ever regard him as the firſt and moſt able of their legiſlators; and that his doctrine, adopted among all nations, after thouſands of years, will ſtill continue to work thouſands of cures [h]. Should this prediction be accompliſhed, the moſt extenſive empires will be unable to diſpute with the little iſland of Cos the glory of having produced the man moſt uſeful to the hu-

[b] Id. de Med. § 1. p. 44. Id. de Decent. § 2. p. 53; § 4. p. 54. Id. in Præcept. § 1. p. 60.
[c] Id in Præcept. § 5. p. 63.
[d] Id. ibid. § 4. p. 62.
[e] Id. de Decent. § 9. p. 57.
[f] Id. in Præcept. § 6, 7. p. 63, 64.
[g] Id. in Decent. § 5. t. i. p. 55.
[h] Celſ. in Præfat. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 37. t. i. p. 395. Id. lib. 18. t. ii. p. 108; lib. 26. p. 391; lib. 29. p. 493. Galen. paſſim. Hippocr. Genus et Vit. ap. Vander Linden, t. ii. p. 958, &c.

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man race; and in the eyes of men of real wiſdom, the names of the greateſt conquerors will be held in much leſs honour than that of Hippocrates.

After having viſited ſome of the iſlands in the environs of Cos, we departed for Samos.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

### *Deſcription of Samos.*

When we enter the road of Samos, we ſee on the right the promontory of Neptune, on which ſtands a temple dedicated to that god; on the left the temple of Juno, and ſeveral beautiful edifices that appear through the trees which ſhade the banks of the Imbraſus. In front is the city, ſituated partly along the ſea-ſhore, and partly on the declivity of a hill which riſes on its north ſide [i].

The iſland is 609 ſtadia * in circumference. If we except its wines, all the productions of the country are as excellent [k] as the patridges and different kinds of game which are found there in great abundance [l]. The mountains covered with trees, which beſtow on them eternal verdure, give birth at their feet to ſprings which fertilize the neighbouring plains [m].

The city is equally diſtinguiſhed with any that either the Greeks or barbarians poſſeſs on the neighbouring continent [n]. The inhabitants were eager to ſhow us its curioſities. The aqueduct, the mole, and the temple of Juno, principally engaged our attention.

Not far from the ramparts, towards the north, is a cavern, hollowed by the hands of men, in a mountain which is cut

i Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.

* 22⅔ leagues. See note at the end of the volume.

k Strab. ibid.

l Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 412.

m Plin. lib. 5. t. i. p. 287. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 414.

n Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 139.



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entirely through. The length of this paſſage is ſeven ſtadia; and its height, which is equal to its breadth, eight feet *. Through its whole extent a channel is cut, three feet wide, and twenty cubits deep †; and pipes, placed at the bottom of the channel, convey to Samos the waters of a plentiful ſpring, which riſes on the other ſide of the mountain [o].

The mole is intended to ſecure the harbour and ſhipping from the ſouth wind. Its height is about twenty orgyiæ, and its length more than two ſtadia [p] ‡.

To the right of the city, in the ſuburb [q], is the temple of Juno; originally built, as it is ſaid, about the time of the Trojan war [r], and ſince rebuilt by the architect Rhœcus. It is of the Doric order [s]. I have not ſeen one more vaſt [t], though there are ſome which are more elegant §. It is ſituated not far from the ſea, on the banks of the Imbraſus, in the very place which was honoured by the birth of the goddeſs; for it is, in fact, believed that ſhe was born under one of thoſe ſhrubs named *agnus caſtus* which grow in great numbers on the banks of the river. This celebrated and revered edifice has always been in poſſeſſion of the privilege of aſylum [u].

* Seven ſtadia are equal to 661½ toiſes (or 6 furlongs and 90 yards): eight Grecian feet make 7 French feet 6 inches 8 lines (8 feet and about half an inch Engliſh.)

† Three Grecian feet make 2 French feet 10 inches (3 feet Eng.), and 20 cubits, 28 feet 4 inches (30 feet 2 inches Eng.) It ſeems probable that this excavation was at firſt intended for a road: but that it having afterward been reſolved to bring to Samos the waters of a ſpring the level of which was lower than the cavern, advantage was taken of the labour already performed, and the channel above mentioned dug.

[o] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 60. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 419.

[p] Herodot. ibid.

‡ Twenty orgyiæ are 113 French feet 4 inches (120 feet 9 inches Eng.); two ſtadia are 189 toiſes (402 yards Eng.)

[q] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 530. Menodot. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 4. p. 672.

[s] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 124.

[t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 60.

§ The ruins of an ancient temple are ſtill to be ſeen at Samos; but it appears that they are not the remains of that of which Herodotus ſpeaks. See Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 422. Pocock, Obſerv. vol. 2. par. 2. p. 27. M. le Comte de Choiſeul Gouffier. Voyag. Pittor. de la Grèce, t. i. p. 100.

[u] Cicer. in Verr. act. 2. lib. 1. cap. 19. t. iv. p. 165. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 14.



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The ſtatue of Juno preſents us with the firſt attempts of ſculpture: it is by the hand of Smilis, one of the moſt ancient artiſts of Greece [x]. The prieſt who accompanied us told us, that before, an unſhapen log had received in theſe holy places the worſhip of the Samians [y]; that the gods were then every where repreſented by trunks of trees, and ſtones, either ſquare or of a conical form [z]; that theſe rude images ſtill ſubſiſt, and even are worſhipped in many temples, both ancient and modern, where they are attended by prieſts as ignorant as thoſe barbarous Scythians who adore a cimetar.

Though ſomewhat piqued at this reflection, I mildly replied, that the trunks of trees and ſtones were never the immediate objects of worſhip, but only arbitrary ſigns, around which the nation aſſembled to addreſs its vows to the Divine Being. That is not ſufficient, replied he; the Divinity muſt be repreſented with a body ſimilar to the human, but with features more beauteous and auguſt. Obſerve with what veneration the people proſtrate themſelves before the ſtatues of Jupiter at Olympia, and of Minerva at Athens. That is, replied I, becauſe they are covered with gold and ivory. By repreſenting the gods after our image, inſtead of elevating the minds of the people, you have only ſought to make impreſſion on their ſenſes; and hence is it that their piety only increaſes in proportion to the grandeur, beauty, and riches of the objects preſented to their veneration. Embelliſh your Juno; and, however rude the ornaments may be, you will find the offerings multiply.

To this the prieſt aſſented. We aſked him what was the meaning of the two peacocks, of braſs placed at the foot of the ſtatue [a]. He told us that theſe birds are natives of Samos; that they have been conſecrated to Juno; that they are

[x] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 531.
[y] Callim. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 99. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 40.
[z] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 3. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 579. Pittur. Antich. d'Ercol. t. iii. tavol. 52. p. 273. Coins of Paphos, &c.
[a] Coins of Samos.

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represented on the current coin of the state; and that from this island they have passed into the rest of Greece [b]. We also asked what was intended by a pot or box in which a shrub grew [c]. That, replied he, is the same *agnus castus* which served as a cradle to the goddess. It still retains its freshness, added he, though it is older than the olive of Athens, the palm of Delos, the oak of Dodona, the wild olive of Olympia, the plane-tree which Agamemnon planted with his own hands at Delphi [d], and all those sacred trees which have been preserved in different temples during so many ages *.

We asked why the goddess was represented in a nuptial robe. He replied, Because at Samos she was espoused to Jupiter; the proof of which is inconteſtable, for we have a festival in which we celebrate the anniversary of their marriage [e]. It is celebrated, likewise, said Stratonicus, in the city of Cnossus, in Crete; and the priests there have assured me, that the nuptials of the goddess were consummated on the banks of the river Theron [f]. I must likewise remind you, that the priestesses of Argos endeavour to deprive your island of the honour of having given birth to the goddess [g]; as other countries dispute with each other that of having been the native place of Jupiter [h]. In fact, I should not be a little embarrassed if I had to sing to my lyre either their birth or their marriage. You surely would not, replied our companion; you would follow the tradition of the country in which you were; for poets certainly are not apt to be burdened with such scruples.

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b Antiphan. et Menod. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 20. p. 655.

c Coin of Gordian in the cabinet of the king of France.

d Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 14. Plin. lib. 16. cap. 44. t. ii. p. 40. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. iii. p. 115.

* It seems probable that all these trees were in boxes or pots. I presume so from that of Samos, which on the coin above mentioned is represented in a box or pot on the steps of the vestibule. See the plate of coins.

e Varr. ap. Lactan. de Fals. Relig. lib. 1. cap. 17. t. i. p. 75.

f Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 339.

g Strab. lib. 9. p. 413.

h Pausan. Lib. 4. cap. 33. p. 361.

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But at leaſt, replied I, the miniſters of the altars of the gods ought to pay greater attention to them. To adopt falſe and abſurd opinions, ſhows only a want of knowledge; but to embrace ſuch as are contradictory and impoſſible, argues a deficiency of reaſon, and leaves no room to reproach the Scythians for worſhipping a cimetar.

You appear to me intelligent, replied the prieſt, and I ſhall reveal to you our ſecret. When we ſpeak of the birth of the gods, we mean the time when their worſhip was received in a country; and by their marriage we ſignify the æra when the worſhip of one deity was aſſociated with that of another [i]. And what do you underſtand by their death? ſaid Stratonicus; for I have ſeen the tomb of Jupiter in Crete [k]. We have recourſe to another ſolution, replied the prieſt. The gods ſometimes manifeſt themſelves to men under a human form; and, after having paſſed ſome time with them, to inſtruct them, diſappear, and return to heaven [l]. It is in Crete eſpecially that they have formerly been accuſtomed to deſcend, and from thence they have departed to traverſe the earth [m]. We were about to reply, but he prudently thought proper to retire.

We afterward took notice of that multitude of ſtatues by which the temple is ſurrounded; and contemplated with admiration three of coloſſal ſize, by the hand of the celebrated Myron [n], placed on the ſame baſe, and repreſenting Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules *. We ſaw alſo the Apollo of Telecles and Theodorus; two artiſts who, having acquired the principles of their art in Egypt, learned from their maſters to labour in concert to execute one ſame work. The former

[i] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 146. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 17; t. xxiii. Hiſt. p. 22.

[k] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 564. Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 3. t. i. p. 475.

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 20. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxvi. p. 292.

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 344.

[n] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.

* Mark Antony cauſed them to be carried to Rome; and ſome time after Auguſtus ſent two of them back to Samos, and only kept the Jupiter. (Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.)

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dwelt at Samos, the latter at Epheſus. After having agreed on the proportions of the figure, the one undertook the upper part of it, and the other the lower; and theſe, when finiſhed, ſo exactly correſponded, that any perſon would have believed them the work of the ſame artiſt [o]. It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the art of ſculpture, not having at that time made any great progreſs, this Apollo is more to be admired for the accuracy of the proportions, than the beauty and finiſhed execution of the parts.

The Samian who gave us this information added: Towards the cloſe of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenian fleet, under the command of Alcibiades, cruized on our coaſts. He favoured the party of the people, who cauſed this ſtatue to be erected to him [p]. Some time after, Lyſander, who commanded the Lacedæmonian fleet, made himſelf maſter of Samos, and reſtored the authority of the rich citizens, who ſent his ſtatue to the temple of Olympia [q]. Two Athenian generals, afterward, returned with ſuperior forces; and theſe are the two ſtatues which the people erected to them [r]: and there is the place where we intend to erect one to Philip, when he ſhall ſeize on our iſland. We ought to bluſh at this meanneſs; but the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands, and the greater part of the Grecian ſtates on the continent, without even excepting the Athenians, are equally guilty of it. The hatred which has always ſubſiſted between the rich and the poor, has every where deſtroyed the reſources of honour and virtue. He concluded in theſe words: A people who, during two centuries, have exhauſted their blood and treaſure to obtain a few moments of liberty, which they have found to weigh heavier on them even than ſlavery, are excuſable if they ſeek tranquillity, eſpecially when the conqueror requires only money and a ſtatue.

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[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 88.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 460.
[q] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 440. Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 459.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 460.

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The Samians are the richeſt and moſt powerful people of all the ſtates which compoſe the Ionian confederation [s]: they are very intelligent, induſtrious, and active; and their hiſtory therefore furniſhes many intereſting particulars for that of literature, arts, and commerce. Among the celebrated men whom the iſland has produced, I ſhall mention Cleophylus, who merited, it is ſaid, the gratitude of Homer, by receiving him in his poverty; and that of poſterity, by preſerving to us his works [t]. Nor can I forget Pythagoras, whoſe name would be ſufficient to reflect new ſplendour on the moſt illuſtrious age and the greateſt empire. After the latter, but in a much inferior rank, we ſhall place two of his contemporaries, Rhœcus and Theodorus [u], able ſculptors for their time; who, after having, as it is ſaid, brought to perfection the rule, the level, and other uſeful inſtruments [x], diſcovered the ſecret of forging iron ſtatues [y], and new methods of caſting thoſe of copper [z].

The Samian earth not only poſſeſſes properties which are of uſe in medicine [a]; but a number of workmen are continually employed in making veſſels of it, which are every where in great requeſt [b].

The Samians early applied themſelves to navigation, and formerly had a ſettlement in Upper Egypt [c]. It is now about three centuries ſince one of their merchant ſhips, on its paſſage to Egypt, was driven, by contrary winds, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to the iſland of Tarteſſus, ſituated on the coaſts of Iberia, and till then unknown to the Greeks. Gold there was extremely plentiful; and the inhabitants, who were ignorant of its value, parted with it very readily to their

[s] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 167.
[t] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638 Callim. t. i. p. 188. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 330.
[u] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 533.
[x] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 414.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 237.
[z] Id. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 629; lib. 10. cap. 38. p. 896. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 710.
[a] Hippocr. de Nat. Mulier. t. ii. p. 379. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 16. p. 717.
[b] Cicer. pro Mur. cap. 36. t. v. p. 233. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 711.
[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 26.

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foreign viſitors, who carried home riches to the amount of ſixty talents *, at that time eſteemed an immenſe ſum, and which it would have been difficult to raiſe in any part of Greece. The tenth of this was appropriated to dedicate, in the temple of Juno, a large cratera of braſs, which is ſtill preſerved there. The rims of it are ornamented with heads of griffins; and it is ſupported by three coloſſal ſtatues, in a kneeling poſture, of the proportion of ſeven cubits † in height. This group is alſo of braſs [d].

Samos has not ſince neglected to increaſe and exerciſe her navy. Formidable fleets have frequently ſailed from her ports, and defended for ſome time her liberty againſt the efforts of the Perſians and the powers of Greece, anxious to reunite her to their dominions [e]: but more than once ſhe has become a prey to internal diſſenſions, which, after long and violent ſtruggles, have ended in the eſtabliſhment of tyranny. This happened in the time of Polycrates, who had received from nature great endowments, and from his father Æaces great riches. The latter had uſurped the ſovereign power, and his ſon reſolved to ſeize it alſo in his turn [f]. He communicated his intentions to his two brothers, who imagined they were admitted into the conſpiracy as his aſſociates, when they were only his tools. On the day on which the feſtival of Juno was celebrated, their partiſans having taken their ſtation in the poſts aſſigned them, ſome of them fell upon the Samians aſſembled round the temple of the goddeſs, while others ſeized on the citadel, and kept poſſeſſion of it, with the aſſiſtance of ſome troops ſent by Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos [g]. The iſland was divided between the three brothers, and ſoon after fell entirely under the power of Polycrates, who condemned one of them to death and the other to baniſhment [h].

* 324,000 livres (13,500l.)

† About 10 feet French (10 feet 7½ inches Engliſh.)

[d] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 152.

[e] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

[f] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 39.

[g] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 23.

[h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 39.

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To hold the people in ſubjection, ſometimes by amuſing them with feſtivals and ſhows [i], and ſometimes by employing violence and cruelty [k]; to prevent them from feeling the oppreſſion they ſuffered, by leading them to ſplendid conqueſts; to conceal from them their ſtrength, by ſubjecting them to fatiguing labours [l *]; to ſeize on the revenues of the ſtate [m], and ſometimes on the poſſeſſions of individuals; to ſurround his perſon with guards and a body of foreign troops [n]; to ſhut himſelf up, in caſe of need, in a ſtrong citadel; artfully to deceive mankind, and ſport with the moſt ſacred oaths [o]: ſuch were the principles by which Polycrates governed his conduct after his elevation to the throne. The hiſtory of his reign may be intituled, The art of government, for the uſe of tyrants.

His riches enabled him to fit out a hundred galleys, which procured him the empire of the ſea, and ſubjected to his authority many of the neighbouring iſlands, and ſome cities of the continent [p]. His generals were ſecretly ordered to bring to him the ſpoils not only of his enemies, but alſo of his friends, who afterward ſolicited and received them from his hands, as a pledge of his affection or his generoſity [q].

During peace, the inhabitants of the iſland and the priſoners of war, together or ſeparately, added new works to the fortifications of the capital, dug ditches around its walls; and within them, erected thoſe monuments which embelliſh Samos, and which were executed by artiſts whom Polycrates had brought into his ſtates, at a great expence [r].

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i Athen. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 541.

k Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 85.

l Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.

* Ariſtotle ſays that in deſpotic governments the people are made to labour in public works, to hold them in ſubjection. Among other examples, he mentions the conduct of Polycrates, and of the kings of Egypt who built the pyramids (De Rep. ubi ſupra).

m Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 142.

n Id. ibid. cap. 39, &c.

o Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 437.

p Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 39. 122, &c.

q Id. ibid. cap. 39. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 23.

r Athen. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 540.

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Equally attentive to promote the advancement of literature, he invited to his court thoſe who cultivated it, and collected in his library the nobleſt works of the human mind [s]. A ſtriking contraſt was then ſeen between Philoſophy and Poetry. While Pythagoras, unable to bear the ſight of a barbarous deſpot, fled from his oppreſſed country [t], Anacreon brought to Samos the Graces and Pleaſures. He without difficulty obtained the friendſhip of Polycrates [u], and celebrated him on his lyre [x] with the ſame ardour that he would have ſung the moſt virtuous of princes.

Polycrates, wiſhing to multiply in his ſtates the moſt beautiful ſpecies of domeſtic animals, procured dogs from Epirus and Lacedæmon, pigs from Sicily, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and ſheep from Miletus and Athens [y]. But as he did good only from oſtentation, he introduced at the ſame time among his ſubjects the luxury and vices of the Aſiatics. He knew that at Sardes, the capital of Lydia, women of diſtinguiſhed beauty aſſembled together, were occupied in refining on the delicacies of the table, and the different kinds of pleaſure [z]. Samos ſaw a ſimilar ſociety formed within her walls, and *the flowers* of that city became as famous as thoſe of the Lydians; for by that name were called thoſe ſocieties in which the youth of both ſexes, giving and receiving leſſons of intemperance, paſſed their days and nights in feaſting and debauchery [a]. The corruption ſpread among the other citizens, and became fatal to their deſcendants. It is alſo ſaid that the diſcoveries of the Samian women were inſenſibly introduced among the other Greeks, and every where tainted the purity of manners [b].

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[s] Id. lib. 1. p. 3.

[t] Ariſtox. ap. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 13. Iamblic. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 2. p. 8; cap. 18. p. 73.

[u] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 121. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 4; lib. 12. cap. 25.

[x] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638.

[y] Cleit. et Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 540.

[z] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 12. p. 545.

[a] Eraſm. Adag. in Flor. chil. 2. cent. 9. p. 553.

[b] Duris, Aſius et Heracl. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 4. p. 525. Clearch. ap. eumd. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 540. Caſaub. ibid.

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In the mean time, many of the inhabitants of the iſland having murmured againſt theſe dangerous innovations, Polycrates cauſed them to embark on board the fleet which carried troops that were to join the army Cambyſes, king of Perſia, was marching into Egypt. He entertained hopes they would fall in battle, or, at leaſt, that Cambyſes would never ſuffer them to return. Informed of his deſigns, they reſolved to anticipate them, and deliver their country from a ſhameful ſlavery. Inſtead of proceeding to Egypt, they returned to Samos, but were repulſed. Some time after they again returned, in conjunction with troops from Lacedæmon and Corinth: but this attempt ſucceeded no better than the former [c].

Polycrates ſeemed to have nothing more to wiſh; every year of his reign, and almoſt every enterpriſe in which he had engaged, had been ſignally fortunate [d]. His ſubjects had become accuſtomed to the yoke. They eſteemed themſelves honoured by his victories, his ſplendour, and the magnificent edifices he erected at their expence. Attached to their ſovereign by ſuch a diſplay of grandeur, they forgot the murder of his brother, his uſurpation, his cruelties and perjuries. He himſelf no longer remembered the ſage advice of Amaſis, king of Egypt, with whom he had for ſome time been united by the ties of hoſpitality, and who had once written to him in the following terms: "I am alarmed at your uninterrupted proſperity: I would wiſh thoſe who are connected with me to experience a mixture of good and ill fortune; for there is a jealous divinity, who will not permit any mortal to enjoy perfect and perpetual felicity. Endeavour to procure to yourſelf ſome ſuffering or mortification, to oppoſe to the unremitted favours of Fortune." Polycrates, alarmed at theſe reflections, reſolved to fortify his happineſs by a ſacrifice which would coſt him ſome moments of chagrin. He wore on his

[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 44, &c.

[d] Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 9. Extern. No. 5.



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finger an emerald ſet in gold, on which Theodorus, of whom I have already ſpoken, had engraven I know not what ſubject *; and which was the more valuable, as the art of engraving gems was then only in its infancy among the Greeks. He went on board a galley, ſailed out to ſome diſtance from the coaſt, and threw his ring into the ſea. But a few days after he received it again from one of his officers, who had found it in the belly of a fiſh. He haſtened to inform Amaſis of the circumſtance, who from that moment deſiſted from all intercourſe with him [c].

The forebodings of Amaſis were at length accompliſhed. While Polycrates was forming plans for the conqueſt of Ionia and the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, the ſatrap of a province contiguous to his ſtates, and ſubject to the king of Perſia, found means to allure him into his government; and, after having put him to death by horrid tortures [f], ordered his body to be faſtened to a croſs on Mount Mycale, in front of Samos †.

After his death, the inhabitants of the iſland ſucceſſively experienced every kind of tyranny; that of a ſingle perſon, that of the rich citizens, that of the multitude, that of the Perſians, and that of the principal ſtates of Greece. The wars between Lacedæmon and Athens by turns gave the aſcendancy to the oligarchy and the democracy [g]. Each revolution glutted the vengeance of one party, and prepared the way for the vengeance of the other. The inhabitants exhibited the greateſt courage in the famous ſiege which they ſuſtained, during nine months, againſt the forces of Athens, under the command of Pericles. Their reſiſtance was obſtinate, and their loſſes almoſt irreparable. They conſented to demoliſh their walls, to ſurrender up their ſhips, to give hoſtages, and to reimburſe the expences of the war [h]. Both the beſiegers and the beſieged treated with equal

* See note at the end of the volume.

[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 40, &c. Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. Plin. lib. 33. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 605; lib. 37. cap. 1. p. 764. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 629.

[f] Herodot. ibid. cap. 125. Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 230. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 9. Extern. No. 5.

† Polycrates died towards the year 522 before Chriſt.

[g] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 73.

[h] Id. lib. 1. cap. 117. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 89.

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cruelty the priſoners who fell into their hands. The Samians branded theirs in the forehead with the figure of an owl; and the Athenians thoſe they took with that of the prow of a ſhip [i]*.

They afterwards recovered from theſe misfortunes, but fell again under the power of the Lacedæmonians, who baniſhed the favourers of the democracy [k]. At length the Athenians, having become maſters of the iſland, divided it, ſome years ſince, into two thouſand portions, which they aſſigned by lot to as many coloniſts, whom they appointed to cultivate them [l]. Among the number of theſe was Neocles, who went to ſettle there with Chæreſtrate his wife [m]. Though they poſſeſſed only a moderate fortune, they obliged us to accept apartments in their houſe. The civility and attention with which we were treated by them, and the reſt of the inhabitants, induced us to prolong our ſtay at Samos.

Sometimes we croſſed the arm of the ſea which ſeparates the iſland from the coaſt of Aſia, and took the diverſion of hunting on Mount Mycale [n]; and ſometimes that of fiſhing at the foot of the ſame mountain, near the place where the Greeks gained, over the fleet and army of Xerxes, that famous victory which completely reſtored tranquillity to Greece †. In the night time we lighted torches, and kindled a number of fires [o], the brightneſs of which, reflected by the waves, made the fiſh approach the boats, and be caught in our nets, or wounded and taken with our pikes. Stratonicus, in the mean time, ſang the battle of Mycale, accompanying his voice with the cithara: but he was continually interrupted; for our boatmen would inſiſt on recounting to us all the particulars of the fight. They talked all together; and though it was ſo

[i] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 166.
* The Athenian coins uſually have on them an owl, and thoſe of the Samians the prow of a ſhip.
[k] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 440.
[l] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. p. 593. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iv. p. 26.
[m] Diog. Laert. lib. 10. § 1.
[n] Strab. lib. 14. p. 636.
† The year 479 before Chriſt.
[o] Plat. Soph. t. i. p. 220.



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dark that it was impoſſible to diſcern objects, they pointed out to us different parts of the horizon. Here, ſaid they, was the Grecian fleet, there the Perſian. The former came from Samos; and as it approached the enemy, the Phœnician galleys fled, and thoſe of the Perſians took refuge under that promontory, near the temple of Ceres, which you ſee before us [p]. The Greeks landed, and were aſtoniſhed to find on the ſhore the innumerable army of the Perſians and their allies. They were commanded by one Tigranes [q]. He diſarmed a body of Samians he had with him [r], becauſe he was afraid of them. The Athenians attacked on this ſide; the Lacedæmonians on that [s]. The camp was taken, and the greater part of the barbarians fled. Their ſhips were burnt; forty thouſand ſoldiers were ſlain, and Tigranes among the reſt [t]. The Samians had prevailed on the Greeks to purſue the Perſian fleet [u]: the Samians, during the battle, having found arms, fell upon the Perſians [x]. To the Samians are the Greeks indebted for the nobleſt victory they ever gained over the Perſians. Our boatmen, while they gave us this account, danced, threw their caps up into the air, and gave loud ſhouts of joy.

Fiſhing is practiſed in various ways: ſome take fiſh with the line; that is, they have a long reed, or rod, at the extremity of which is a horſe-hair line, with a hook, on which they put the bait, faſtened to the end of it [y]: others dexterouſly pierce them with darts that have two or three points, and are named harpoons or tridents: and others take them in different kinds of nets [z], ſome of which are furniſhed with leaden plummets, that ſink them in the water, and pieces of cork that buoy them up on its ſurface [a].

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[p] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 97.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 96. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 27.
[r] Herodot. ibid. cap. 99.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 102.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 98. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 28.
Herodot. ibid. p. 103.
[y] Plat. Soph. t. i. p. 220. Theocrit. Idyll. 21. v. 11. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 9. § 97.
[z] Plat. ibid. Oppian. de Piſcat. lib. 3. v. 72.
[a] Pind. Pyth. 2. v. 146.

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The manner of fiſhing for tunny eſpecially engaged our attention. A long and very large net had been extended along the ſhore. We repaired to the ſpot at the break of day, when a profound calm ſeemed to reign throughout all nature. One of the fiſhermen, lying flat on a neighbouring rock [b], kept his eyes fixed on the almoſt tranſparent waves, till he perceived a ſhoal of tunnies quietly following the windings of the coaſt, and entering the net by an opening contrived for that purpoſe: when immediately giving the ſignal to his companions, they divided into two companies, one of which drew the net, while the other beat the water with their oars, to prevent the fiſh from eſcaping. A great number were taken; many of them of an enormous ſize: one weighed about fifteen talents [c] *.

On our return from a little excurſion which we had made to the coaſt of Aſia, we found Neocles employed in making preparations for an entertainment. Chæreſtrate, his wife, had been brought to bed ſome days before; and he had juſt given a name to his ſon, whom he had called Epicurus †. On theſe occaſions it is cuſtomary with the Greeks to invite their friends to an entertainment. The company was numerous and ſelect. I was placed at one end of the table, between an Athenian, who talked a great deal, and a Samian, who ſaid nothing.

Among the other gueſts the converſation was very loud and noiſy; with us it was at firſt vague, and without any determinate object, but afterward more connected and ſerious. It turned, I know not on what occaſion, on the world and ſociety After ſome common-place remarks, the opinion of the Samian was aſked; who replied, I ſhall content myſelf with giving

[b] Ariſtoph. in Equit v. 313. Schol. ibid.

[c] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 301. Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap 30. t. i. p. 921. Plin. lib. 9. t. i. p. 505.

* About 772 pounds (834 pounds Engliſh avoirdupois).

† This is the celebrated Epicurus, born in the archonſhip of Soſigenes (Diog. Laert. lib. 10. § 14), in the 3d year of the 109th Olympiad, on the 7th of Gamelion; that is to ſay, the 11th of January, of the year 341 before Chriſt. Menander was born in the ſame year.



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you that of Pythagoras. He compared the ſcene of the world to that exhibited at the Olympic games; to which ſome reſort to combat, others to traffic, and others merely to be ſpectators [d]. Thus the ambitious and the conquerors are our combatants; the greater part of men exchange their time and labour for the goods of Fortune; and the ſages calmly obſerve all that paſſes, and are ſilent.

At theſe words I ſurveyed him with greater attention. He had a placid air, and was of grave deportment. He was habited in a white robe, extremely neat and clean [e]. I ſucceſſively offered him wine, fiſh, a ſlice of beef [f], and a plate of beans; but he refuſed them all. He drank only water, and ate only vegetables. The Athenian ſaid to me, in a whiſper, He is a rigid Pythagorean; and immediately raiſing his voice, We are to blame, ſaid he, for eating of theſe fiſh; for originally we dwelt, like them, in the depths of the ocean. Yes, our firſt progenitors were fiſh; it cannot be doubted, for it has been aſſerted by the philoſopher Anaximander [g]. The doctrine of the metempſychoſis makes me ſcrupulous of eating meat; for when I regale on the fleſh of this ox, I am perhaps an anthropophagiſt. As to the beans, they are the ſubſtance which contains the largeſt portion of that animated matter of which our ſouls are particles [h]. Take the flowers of the bean when they begin to grow black; put them in a veſſel, and bury it in the ground; and if, at the end of ninety days, you open it, you will find at the bottom the head of a child [i]. Pythagoras himſelf has made the experiment.

Loud burſts of laughter now broke forth at the expence of my neighbour, who ſtill continued ſilent. They preſs you very cloſely, ſaid I to him. I am ſenſible of it, anſwered he; but I ſhall make no reply. I ſhould be to blame to reaſon

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[d] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 362. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 8. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 12. p. 44.

[e] Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 19.

[f] Ariſtox. ap. eund. ibid. § 20.

[g] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 8. quæſt. 8. t. ii. p 730.

[h] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 24.

[i] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 44.

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gravely at this moment. To refute ridicule ſeriouſly, is only to become ſtill more an object of ridicule. But I ſhall not be expoſed to this danger with you. Neocles has explained to me the motives which have induced you to undertake ſuch long voyages; I know you love the truth, and I ſhall not be unwilling to declare it to you. I accepted his offer, and after ſupper we had the following converſation.

## CHAP. LXXV.

*Converſation between Anacharſis and a Samian, on the Inſtitution of Pythagoras.*

*The Samian.*

YOU certainly do not believe that Pythagoras has advanced the abſurdities that are attributed to him?

*Anacharſis.* They indeed excited my ſurpriſe. On the one hand I beheld that extraordinary man enriching his country with the knowledge of other nations, making diſcoveries in geometry which can only appertain to genius, and founding that ſchool which has produced ſo many great men; and, on the other, I ſaw his diſciples frequently ridiculed on the ſtage, and obſtinately perſevering in the obſervance of certain frivolous practices, which they juſtified by puerile reaſons, or forced allegories. I read your authors, and made inquiries of the Pythagoreans, but I only met with a myſterious and enigmatical language. I conſulted the other philoſophers; and Pythagoras was repreſented to me as the head of a ſect of enthuſiaſts, who had taught incomprehenſible dogmas, and preſcribed impracticable obſervances.

*Samian.* This portrait is not very flattering.

*Anacharſis.* Hear to the end the account of my prejudices and inquiries. When I was at Memphis, I perceived the ſource from which your founder had derived the rigorous



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laws to which he has ſubjected you; they are the ſame with thoſe of the Egyptian prieſts [k]. Pythagoras adopted them without conſidering [l] that the rule of diet ought to vary according to the difference of climates and religions. Let us give an example. Theſe prieſts hold beans in ſuch averſion, that none are ſown throughout all Egypt; and if by chance a ſingle plant any where ſprings up, they turn away their eyes from it, as from an impure thing [m]. If this vegetable is hurtful in Egypt, the prieſts acted rightly in proſcribing it: but Pythagoras ought not to have imitated them; and ſtill leſs ought he if the prohibition was only founded on ſome idle ſuperſtition. He has nevertheleſs tranſmitted it to you; and never did it occaſion, in the places where it originated, ſo cruel a ſcene as has been acted in our time.

Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, was deſirous to penetrate your myſteries. The Pythagoreans, whom he perſecuted in his ſtates, carefully concealed themſelves. He gave orders that ſome ſhould be brought to him from Italy. A detachment of ſoldiers perceived ten of theſe philoſophers journeying peaceably from Tarentum to Metapontum, and gave chace to them like wild beaſts. They fled before their purſuers; but at the ſight of a field of beans, which happened to be in their way, they ſtopped, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and ſubmitted to be all maſſacred, rather than defile their ſouls by touching that odious vegetable [n]. Preſently after, the officer who commanded the detachment ſurpriſed two others who had not been able to follow the reſt. Theſe were Myllias of Crotona, and his wife Tymicha, a native of Lacedæmon, and far advanced in her pregnancy. They were brought to Syracuſe. Dionyſius wiſhed to learn from them why their companions had rather choſen to loſe their lives, than croſs

[k] Chærem. ap. Porph. de Abſtin. lib. 4. p. 308.

[l] Recherch. Philoſ. ſur les Egypt. t. 1. p. 103.

[m] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 37.

[n] Hippob. et Neant. ap. Iamb. in Vit. Pythag. cap. 31. p. 158.

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the field of beans; but neither his promiſes nor his threats could induce them to ſatisfy his curioſity: and Tymicha bit off her tongue, leſt ſhe ſhould yield to the tortures, the inſtruments of which were placed before her eyes. We here ſee, however, what the prejudices of fanaticiſm, and the ſenſeleſs laws by which they are cheriſhed, are able to effect.

*Samian.* I lament the fate of theſe unhappy perſons. Their zeal, which was not very enlightened, was doubtleſs foured by the cruelties which had for ſome time been exerciſed againſt them. They judged of the importance of their opinions by the eagerneſs of their enemies to force them to renounce them.

*Anacharſis.* And do you think that they might without a crime have violated the precept of Pythagoras?

*Samian.* Pythagoras has written ſcarcely any thing [o]; the works which are attributed to him are almoſt all by his diſciples [p]; who have burthened his rules with many new practices. You have heard it ſaid, and it will hereafter be ſtill more confidently affirmed, that Pythagoras annexed an infinite merit to abſtinence from beans [q]. It is nevertheleſs certain that he himſelf very frequently ate them; as I learned, when a young man, from Xenophilus, and many aged perſons who were almoſt contemporary with Pythagoras [r].

*Anacharſis.* And why then did he afterwards forbid them to be eaten?

*Samian.* Pythagoras permitted the eating of them, becauſe he believed them wholeſome; but his diſciples have forbidden them, becauſe they produce flatulence, and are otherwiſe

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[o] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 52. Lucian. pro Lapſ. § 5. t. i. p. 729. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 6.

[p] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 7.

[q] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 24. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 24. p. 92. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 44. Lucian. Vitar. Auct. § 6. t. i. p. 545. Id. Ver. Hiſt. lib. 2. § 24. t. ii. p. 122. Plin. lib. 18. cap. 12 t. ii. p. 115.

[r] Ariſtox. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. cap. 11.

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prejudicial to health [s]; and their opinion, which agrees with that of the greateſt phyſicians, has prevailed [t].

*Anacharſis.* This prohibition then, according to you, is only a civil regulation, or ſalutary advice. I have nevertheleſs heard other Pythagoreans ſpeak of it as a ſacred law, which is founded either on the myſteries of nature and religion, or the principles of a wiſe policy [u].

*Samian.* With us, as among almoſt all religious ſocieties, the civil laws are ſacred laws; the character of ſanctity which is impreſſed on them, renders their obſervance more certain and eaſy. Art muſt be employed to overcome the negligence of men, as well as to ſubjugate their paſſions. The rules relative to abſtinence are every day violated, when they are conſidered as having no other merit than that of preſerving health. The man who, for the ſake of the latter, would not ſacrifice a ſingle pleaſure, will riſk his life a thouſand times in defence of rites which he reverences without knowing their object.

*Anacharſis.* Are we to believe, then, that thoſe ablutions, privations, and faſts, which the Egyptian prieſts ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerve, and which are ſo ſtrongly recommended in the Grecian myſteries, were originally only the preſcriptions of medicine, and leſſons of temperance?

*Samian.* I am of that opinion; and in fact no perſon is ignorant that the Egyptian prieſts, by cultivating the moſt beneficial part of medicine, or that which is more employed to prevent diſorders than to cure them, have at all times procured to themſelves a long and tranquil life [x]. In their ſchool Pythagoras learned this art, which he tranſmitted to his diſciples [y].

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[s] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 521. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. 1. cap. 30. t. iii. p. 26.

[t] Hippocr. de Diæt. l. ii. § 13. t. i. p. 218.

[u] Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 34. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 24. p. 92. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 43.

[x] Iſocr. in Buſir. t. ii. p. 163. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 7.

[y] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 29. p. 139; cap. 34. p. 196; cap. 35. p. 214.

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and was deſervedly ranked among the ableſt phyſicians of Greece [z]. As he wiſhed to exalt the minds of men to perfection, it was neceſſary to detach them from that mortal integument by which they are held confined, and which communicates to them its pollution. He therefore prohibited thoſe aliments and liquors which, by occaſioning diſorder in the body, obſcure and render heavy the intellectual faculties [a].

*Anacharſis.* He believed, then, that the uſe of wine, fleſh, and fiſh, produced theſe fatal effects; for all theſe he has rigorouſly forbidden you [b].

*Samian.* That is a miſtake: he condemned the intemperate uſe of wine [c], and adviſed to abſtain from it [d]; but he permitted his diſciples to drink it at their principal meal, though only in a ſmall quantity [e]. They alſo ſometimes eat of animals offered in ſacrifice, except the ox and the ram [f]. He himſelf refuſed not to taſte of them [g], though he uſually was ſatisfied with a little honey and ſome vegetables [h]. He forbade to eat certain fiſh, for reaſons which it is uſeleſs to repeat [i]. He beſides preferred a vegetable diet to every other; but the abſolute prohibition of meat was only for ſuch of his diſciples as aſpired to more exalted perfection [k].

*Anacharſis.* But how can we reconcile the permiſſion he granted to others with his ſyſtem of the tranſmigration of ſouls [l]? for, in fact, as the Athenian juſt now remarked, you continually riſk eating your father or your mother.

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[z] Corn. Celſ. de Re Medic. lib. 1. Præf.

[a] Iambl. cap. 16.

[b] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 16. p. 308. Iambl. cap. 30. p. 156. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 13.

[c] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 9.

[d] Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. 2. p. 170.

[e] Iambl. cap. 21. p. 83.

[f] Id. ibid. Ariſtox. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 20.

[g] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 37. Ariſtox. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 418; et ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. cap. 11. Alexis ap. Aul. Gell. ibid.

[h] Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 19 Athen. lib. 10. p. 419. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 37.

[i] Iambl. cap. 24. p. 92. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 19. Plut. in Sympoſ. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. cap. 11.

[k] Iambl. cap. 24. p. 90.

[l] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 13. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

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*Samian.* I might anſwer, that the fleſh of victims is alone ſerved up at our tables; and that we only ſacrifice the animals into which our ſouls are not deſtined to tranſmigrate [m]. But I have a better ſolution of the difficulty: Pythagoras and his diſciples did not believe in the firſt metempſychoſis.

*Anacharſis.* How?

*Samian.* Timæus, one of the moſt ancient and moſt celebrated among them, has acknowledged this. He ſays, that the fear of human laws not making a ſufficient impreſſion on the multitude, it is neceſſary to awe them by the dread of imaginary puniſhments; and to teach that the guilty ſhall, after death, be transformed into vile or ſavage beaſts, and ſuffer all the pains annexed to their new condition [n].

*Anacharſis.* You overturn all my ideas. Did not Pythagoras reject bloody ſacrifices? Did he not forbid to ſlaughter animals? Whence aroſe the attention he has ſhown to their preſervation, unleſs from his believing they were animated by a ſoul ſimilar to ours [o]?

*Samian.* This was founded on juſtice. By what right, in fact, do we preſume to deprive of life creatures who, like ourſelves, have received that gift from Heaven [p]? The firſt men, more obedient to the dictates of nature, only offered to the gods fruits, honey, and the cakes which were their food [q]. They dared not ſhed the blood of animals, eſpecially thoſe which are uſeful to man. Tradition has tranſmitted to us with horror the memory of the moſt ancient parricide [r]; and by preſerving, in like manner, the names of thoſe who by inadvertence, or in a fit of anger, firſt ſlew animals of any kind [s], has ſhown us the aſtoniſhment and abhorrence which

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[m] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 18. p. 71.

[n] Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104

[o] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 13. Iambl. cap. 24. p. 90. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 24. Ritterhuſ. ibid. p. 22. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

[p] Emped. ap. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 541.

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782. Theophr. ap Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. p. 137.

[r] Plut in Romul. t i. p. 39.

[s] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. p. 117. et 119.

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ſuch a deed excited in every mind. A pretext therefore was neceſſary. Animals were found to occupy too much room in the world; and an oracle was invented to authoriſe us to overcome our repugnance to put them to death. We obeyed; and ſtill more to ſtifle our remorſe, we wiſhed even to obtain the conſent of our victims; whence it is, that even at this day, none are ſacrificed without having firſt, by ablutions or other means, been induced to bow the head in token of approbation [t]. With ſuch indignity does violence mock weakneſs!

*Anacharſis.* This violence was no doubt neceſſary: Animals, by becoming too numerous, would devour the harveſts.

*Samian.* Thoſe which multiply moſt live only a few years; and the greater part, deprived of the care we take of them, would not perpetuate their ſpecies [u]. With reſpect to the reſt, wolves and vultures would have delivered us from them. But, to prove to you that it was not their depredations that induced us to make war on them, I ſhall aſk you whether the fiſh, which we purſue in an element ſo different from that which we inhabit, would ever have laid waſte our fields [x]? No; nothing ought to have induced us to defile altars with the blood of animals: for, ſince I am not permitted to offer to Heaven fruits ſtolen from the field of my neighbour, ought I to preſent to him a life which appertains not to me [y]? Let us, beſides, inquire which is the victim moſt agreeable to the Divinity. On this queſtion nations and prieſts are divided. In one place, ſavage and noxious animals are ſacrificed; and, in another, thoſe which aſſiſt us in our labours. The intereſt of man, guiding him in this choice, has ſo aſſociated with his injuſtice, that in Egypt it is conſidered as an impiety

[t] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 8. quæſt. 8. t. ii. p. 729, F.
[u] Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib. 4. p. 344.
[x] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 8. quæſt. 8. t. ii. p. 730.
[y] Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib. 2. p. 124.

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to ſacrifice the cow, and an act of piety to immolate the bull [z].

Amidſt this uncertainty, Pythagoras diſtinctly perceived, that abuſes conſecrated by a long courſe of ages were not at once to be eradicated. He abſtained from bloody ſacrifices, and the firſt claſs of his diſciples abſtained from them likewiſe. The reſt, obliged ſtill to preſerve connections with the world, were permitted to ſacrifice a ſmall number of animals; and to taſte, rather than eat, their fleſh [a].

This was a compliance which a reſpect for cuſtom and religion ſeemed to juſtify; and, except in this particular, we lived in the moſt ſocial friendſhip with the mild and peaceable animals. We are forbidden to do them the leaſt injury [b]. After the example of our founder, we feel the ſtrongeſt averſion to thoſe occupations, the buſineſs of which is to put them to death [c]; for experience has but too well proved, that the frequent effuſion of blood makes the ſoul contract a kind of ferocity. The chace is forbidden us [d]. We renounce pleaſures: but we are more humane, mild, and compaſſionate than other men [e]; and I will add, much more ill treated. No means have been left untried to deſtroy a pious and learned ſociety [f], which, contemning pleaſures, has been entirely devoted to promote the happineſs of mankind.

*Anacharſis.* I have been but ill acquainted with your inſtitution: may I be permitted to requeſt you to give me a more juſt idea of it?

*Samian.* You know that Pythagoras, on his return from his travels, fixed his reſidence in Italy; and that, liſtening to his advice, the Greek colonies ſettled in that fertile country, laid their arms at his feet, and conſented to make him the ar-

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[z] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 45. Porphyr. ibid. p. 120.

[a] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 28. p. 126.

[b] Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 964. Iambl. cap. 21. p. 84.

[c] Eudox. ap. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 9.

[d] Iambl. ibid.

[e] Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib. 3. p. 263.

[f] Apul. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 663.

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biter of their diſputes; that he taught them to live in peace with each other, and with the neighbouring nations; that both men and women ſubmitted with equal ardour to make the greateſt ſacrifices; that from all parts of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, an incredible number of diſciples reſorted to him; that he appeared at the courts of tyrants without flattering them, and induced them to abdicate their power without repining; that, at the ſight of ſo many great and beneficial changes, the people every where exclaimed, that ſome deity had deſcended from heaven to deliver the earth from the evils by which it was afflicted [g].

*Anacharſis.* But have not either he or his diſciples had recourſe to falſehood to ſupport the character he had acquired? Recollect the miracles that are attributed to him [h]; at his voice the ſea became calm, the ſtorm was diſperſed, and the peſtilence ſuſpended its rage [i]. Recollect alſo the eagle which he called while ſoaring in the air, and which came and reſted on his hand; and the bear that, in obedience to his commands, no longer attacked the timid animals [k].

*Samian.* Theſe extraordinary ſtories have always appeared to me deſtitute of foundation. I find no reaſon to ſuppoſe that Pythagoras ever pretended to exert a power over nature.

*Anacharſis.* But you will at leaſt allow that he pretended to a knowledge of future events [l], and to have received his doctrines from the prieſteſs of Delphi [m].

*Samian.* He certainly believed in divination; and this error, if it be one, was common to him with the ſages of his time, with thoſe poſterior to him, and even with Socrates

[g] Iambl. cap. 6. p. 23; cap. 28. p. 118 et 120. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 25.
[h] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 17.
[i] Iambl. cap. 28. p. 114. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 31.
[k] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 13. p. 46.
[l] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 34. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 399. Iambl. cap. 28. p. 126. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.
[m] Ariſtox. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 21.



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himſelf [n]. He affirmed that his doctrine was dictated by the oracle of Apollo. If this be eſteemed a crime, we muſt charge with impoſture Minos, Lycurgus, and almoſt all the legiſlators, who, to give greater authority to their laws, have feigned that they received them from the gods [o].

*Anacharſis.* Permit me ſtill to urge my objections, for inveterate prejudices are not eaſily renounced. Why is his philoſophy enveloped in a triple veil of darkneſs? How is it poſſible that the man who had the modeſty to prefer the title of Lover of Wiſdom to that of Sage [p], ſhould not have had the frankneſs to declare the truth without diſguiſe?

*Samian.* You will find ſimilar ſecrets to thoſe at which you now expreſs your ſurpriſe, in the myſteries of Eleuſis and Samothrace, among the Egyptian prieſts, and among all religious ſocieties. Nay, have not alſo our philoſophers a doctrine which they excluſively reſerve for thoſe diſciples whoſe circumſpection they have proved [q]? The eyes of the multitude were formerly too weak to endure the light; and, even at preſent, who would venture, in the midſt of Athens, freely to explain his opinions on the nature of the gods, and the defects of the popular government? There are therefore ſome truths which the ſage ſhould guard with care, and ſuffer only to eſcape him, if I may ſo ſpeak, drop by drop.

*Anacharſis.* But there are others which ſurely he ought to diſpenſe in a full ſtream; as the truths of morality, for inſtance: yet even theſe you cover with an almoſt impenetrable veil. When, for example, inſtead of adviſing me to fly idleneſs, or not to irritate an enraged man, you tell me not to ſit down on a buſhel, or to beware how I ſtir the fire with a

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[n] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 5.

[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 43. p. 36.

[p] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 361. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7. Extern. No. 2.

[q] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 200. Aul. Gell. lib. 20. cap. 5. Clem. Alex. lib. 5. p. 680.

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ſword [r], it is evident that, to the difficulty of practiſing your leſſons, you add that of underſtanding them [s].

*Samian.* Yet is it this very difficulty which impreſſes them more forcibly on the mind. What has been hardly acquired is more carefully preſerved. Symbols excite curioſity, and give an air of novelty to common maxims; and as they preſent themſelves more frequently to our ſenſes than the other ſigns of our thoughts, they give greater authority to the laws they inculcate. Thus the ſoldier cannot ſit near his fire, nor the labourer look on his buſhel, without recollecting the prohibition and the precept.

*Anacharſis.* You are ſo fond of myſtery, that one of the firſt diſciples of Pythagoras incurred the indignation of the reſt for having publiſhed the ſolution of a problem in geometry [t].

*Samian.* It was then a general opinion that ſcience, like modeſty, ſhould cover itſelf with a veil, to increaſe the charms of the treaſures it conceals, and give more authority to him by whom they are poſſeſſed. Pythagoras doubtleſs profited by this prejudice; and I will even acknowledge, if you inſiſt, that, after the example of ſome legiſlators, he had recourſe to pious frauds to gain credit with the multitude [u]; for I equally miſtruſt the extravagant eulogiums which have been beſtowed on him, and the odious accuſations that have been employed to blacken him. But what enſures his glory [x] is, that he conceived the grand project of a ſociety, which, perpetually ſubſiſting, and becoming the depoſitary of the ſciences and of manners, ſhould be the organ of truth and virtue, when men ſhould be able to liſten to the one, and to practiſe the other.

A great number of diſciples embraced the new inſtitution [y].

[r] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Id. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 12. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 42. Iambl. cap. 22. p. 84. Diog. Laert. lib. 8 § 18. Demetr. Byſant. ap. Athen. l. 10. c. 19. p. 452.

[s] Iambl. cap. 34. p. 198.

[t] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 34 p. 198.

[u] Hermipp. ap. Diog. Laert lib. 8. 141.

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t ii. p. 600.

[y] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 15. Iambl. cap. 6. p. 22.



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He aſſembled them in a ſpacious edifice, where they lived in common [z], and were diſtributed in different claſſes. Some paſſed their lives in meditation on heavenly things; others cultivated the ſciences, and eſpecially geometry and aſtronomy [a]; while others, who were called managers or ſtewards, were charged with the direction of the houſe and its affairs [b].

It was not eaſy to obtain admiſſion as a novice. Pythagoras examined the character of the candidate, his habits, his behaviour, his diſcourſe, his ſilence, the impreſſion which objects made on him, and the manner in which he carried himſelf to his relations and friends. As ſoon as he was accepted, he depoſited all his property in the hands of the ſtewards [c].

His probation or noviciate laſted ſeveral years; but this term was abridged in favour of thoſe who ſooner attained to perfection [d]. During three whole years, the novice received no kind of notice or reſpect in the ſociety, but was, as it were, devoted to contempt. Afterwards, condemned to ſilence for five years [e], he learned to bridle his curioſity [f], to detach himſelf from the world, and to employ his thoughts on God alone [g]. All his time was taken up with purifications, and different exerciſes of piety [h]: he heard, at intervals, the voice of Pythagoras, who was concealed from his eyes by a thick veil [i], and who judged of his diſpoſition from his anſwers.

If the progreſs he made gave ſatisfaction, he was admitted to the ſacred doctrine; but if he diſappointed the expectations of his maſters, he was diſmiſſed, and his property reſtored to him conſiderably increaſed [k]. From that moment he was as it were blotted out from among the number of the living. A

[z] Iambl. ibid. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag p. 25.
[a] Anonym. ap. Phot. God. 249. p. 1313. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 9.
[b] Iambl. cap. 17. p. 59.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 58.
[d] Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 9.
[e] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 10. Lucian. Vitar. Auct. § 3. t. i. p. 542. Iambl. Vit. Pyth. cap. 17. p. 59.
[f] Plut. de Curioſ. t. ii. p. 519.
[g] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Iambl. ibid. p. 57.
[h] Iamb. Vit. Pyth. cap. 17. p. 61.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 60. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 10.
[k] Id. ibid.



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tomb was erected for him within the houſe, and the members of the ſociety refuſed to know him, if by any accident they ſaw him again [l]. The ſame puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who divulged the ſacred doctrine to the profane [m].

The ordinary aſſociates might, with the permiſſion of, or rather by an order from, the chief, re-enter into the world, take on them public employments, or ſuperintend their domeſtic affairs, without renouncing their firſt engagements.

Unaſſociated diſciples, both men and women, were admitted to different houſes [n], where they ſometimes remained whole days, and were preſent at different exerciſes.

And, laſtly, virtuous men, the greater part reſiding in diſtant places, were affiliated to the ſociety, laboured to promote its advancement, imbibed its ſpirit, and practiſed its rules.

The diſciples who lived in common, roſe very early, and immediately on their awaking employed themſelves in two examinations; the one relative to what they had ſaid or done the preceding evening, and the other to what they were to do on the enſuing day; the former to exerciſe their memory, the latter to regulate their conduct [o]. After having put on a white and extremely neat [p] robe, they took their lyres, and ſang ſacred ſongs [q], till the moment when the ſun appearing above the horizon, they proſtrated themſelves before him [r] *, and went each ſeparately to walk in pleaſant groves or agreeable ſolitudes. The aſpect and tranquillity of theſe beauteous ſcenes diffuſed peace and harmony through their ſouls, and

[l] Orig. contr. Celſ. lib. 3. t. i. p. 481. Iambl. ibid. p 61.

[m] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib 5. p. 680. Lyſid. Epiſt. ap. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 17. p. 62.

[n] Iambl. Vit. Pythag. c. 36. p. 214. Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. p. 25. Kuſt. ibid.

[o] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 245. Iambl. cap. 29. p. 140, 141; cap. 35. p. 206. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 40, 41. Carm. Aur. v. 40.

[p] Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 19. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 32. Iambl. cap. 21. p. 84; cap. 28. p. 126.

[q] Iambl. cap. 25. p. 95.

[r] Id. cap. 35. p. 206.

* It appears that Socrates, at the riſing of the ſun, after the example perhaps of the Pythagoreans, proſtrated himſelf before that luminary. (Plut. in Conv. t. iii. p. 220.)



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prepared them for the learned converſations that awaited them at their return [s].

Theſe were almoſt always held in a temple, and turned on the accurate ſciences, or on morality [t]; of which ſkilful profeſſors explained to them the elements, and gradually conducted them to the moſt exalted theory. Frequently they propoſed to them, for the ſubject of their meditation, ſome comprehenſive principle, or ſome perſpicuous and inſtructive maxim. Pythagoras, who ſaw every truth at a glance, and expreſſed it in a ſingle word, would ſometimes ſay to them: What is the univerſe? Order. What is friendſhip? Equality [u]. Theſe ſublime definitions, which were at that time new, charmed and elevated the minds of his diſciples. The former was received with ſuch approbation, that it was ſubſtituted to the ancient names which the Greeks had till then given to the univerſe. To the exerciſes of the mind ſucceeded thoſe of the body; as running and wreſtling, and thoſe leſs violent conteſts which might be decided in groves or gardens [x].

At dinner, bread and honey were ſerved up to them, but rarely wine [y]. Thoſe who aſpired to perfection often took only ſome bread and water [z]. When they roſe from table, they employed themſelves in the conſideration of the affairs which ſtrangers had ſubmitted to their arbitration [a]. Afterwards they again took their walks, by two or three together, and diſcourſed on the leſſons they had received in the morning [b]. From theſe converſations were ſtrictly baniſhed all ſlander, invectives, pleaſantries, and ſuperfluous words [c].

When they returned to the houſe, they went to the bath, and on coming out of it were diſtributed in different rooms in which tables were ſpread, each with ten covers. They were ſerved with wine, bread, vegetables, boiled or raw; ſometimes

[s] Iambl. cap. 20. p. 81.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Id. cap. 29. p. 138. Diog. Laert. l. 8. § 10. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317.
[x] Iambl. cap. 21. p. 81.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 82.
[z] Alexis ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 161.
[a] Iambl. ibid.
[b] Id. ibid
[c] Id. cap. 30. p. 145.

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portions of animals offered in ſacrifice; and ſometimes, though but rarely, fiſh. Their ſupper, which muſt be ended before the ſetting of the ſun, was preceded by the burning of incenſe, and different perfumes which they offered to the gods [d].

I had forgotten to tell you, that, on certain days of the year, an exquiſite and ſumptuous repaſt was ſerved up to them, which, after it had remained for ſome time before their eyes, they ſent untouched to their ſlaves, roſe from table, and even abſtained from their ordinary meal [e].

The ſupper was followed by libations to the gods; after which the youngeſt diſciple read to the reſt, the oldeſt chooſing the ſubject. The latter, before he diſmiſſed them, reminded them of theſe important precepts: "Neglect not to honour the gods, the genii, and heroes; to reverence thoſe from whom you have received life or benefits; and to fly to the defence of the violated laws." To inſpire them ſtill more with the ſpirit of mildneſs and equity, he added: "Beware not to root up the tree or plant which may be uſeful to man, nor to kill the animal which has done him no injury [f]."

When retired to their apartments, each cited himſelf before the tribunal of his conſcience, and mentally paſſed in review and condemned his faults of commiſſion and omiſſion [g].

After this examination, the conſtant practice of which would alone be ſufficient to correct our defects, they again took their lyres, and ſang hymns in honour of the gods. In the morning, when they aroſe, they had recourſe to muſic, to diſſipate the vapours of ſleep; and in the evening, to calm the diſturbance of the ſenſes [h]. Their death was tranquil. Their bodies, as is ſtill practiſed, were encloſed in coffins with leaves of myrtle, olive, and poplar [i], and their funerals were ac-

[d] Id. cap. 21. p. 83.
[e] Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 245. Iambl. cap. 31. p. 137.
[f] Iambl. cap. 21. p. 84.
[g] Diog. Laert. lib 8 § 22. Iambl. cap. 35. p. 206. Aur. Carm. v. 40. Hierocl. ibid. Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 41.
[h] Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 384. Quintil. de Orat. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 589. Iambl cap. 25. p. 95.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 711.



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companied with ceremonies which it is not permitted us to reveal [k].

During their whole lives they were animated by two sentiments, or rather by one single sentiment, an intimate union with the gods, and the most perfect union with men. Their principal obligation was to meditate on the Divinity [l], to consider themselves as ever in his presence [m], and to regulate their conduct in all things by his will [n]. Hence that reverence for the Divine Being which permitted them not to pronounce his name in their oaths [o]; that purity of manners which rendered them worthy of his regard [p]; those exhortations they continually inculcated, not to drive away the Spirit of God, who resided in their souls [q]; and that ardour with which they applied to divination, the only means remaining to us by which we can discover his will [r].

Hence also flowed the sentiments which united them to each other, and to all mankind [s]. Never was friendship known, never was it felt, as by Pythagoras. He it was who first uttered the finest and most consoling of all sentiments: *My friend is my other self* [t]. In fact, when I am with my friend, I am not alone, nor are we two.

As, in physics and morals, he referred every thing to unity, he wished that his disciples might have but one same opinion, one single will [u]. Divested of all property [x], but free in their engagements; insensible to false ambition, to vain glory [y], to the contemptible interests which ordinarily divide mankind; they had only to fear the rivalry of virtue, and opposition of character. From the time of their noviciate, the greatest efforts concurred to surmount these obstacles. Their

k Plut. de Gen. Soc. t. ii. p. 586.
l Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Aur. Carm.
m Iambl. cap. 16. p. 57. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313.
n Id. cap. 28. p. 115.
o Id. ibid. p. 126.
p Id. cap. 16. p. 57.
q Id. cap. 33. p. 193.
r Id. cap. 28. p. 116.
s Id. cap. 33. p. 193.
t Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 37.
u Iambl. cap. 33 p. 186.
x Id. cap. 30. p. 143.
y Id. cap. 31. p. 165.

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union, cemented by the desire of pleasing the Divine Being, to whom they referred all their actions [z], procured them triumphs without arrogance, and emulation without jealousy.

They learned to forget themselves, and mutually to sacrifice to each other their opinions [a]; not to wound friendship by distrust, by the slightest falsehoods, ill timed pleasantries, or useless protestations [b].

They also learned to take the alarm at the approach of the least coolness. When in the conversations in which they discussed questions in philosophy, any harsh expression escaped them, they never suffered the sun to go down, without giving the hand in token of reconciliation [c]. One of them on such an occasion ran to his friend, and said to him: Let us forget our anger, and be you the judge of the difference between us. Most willingly, replied the other; but I ought to blush, that, since I am older than you, I was not the first to make this offer [d].

They learned to subdue those inequalities of temper which weary and discourage friendship. Did they feel their passion rise, did they foresee a moment of melancholy or disgust; they sought retirement, and calmed this involuntary disorder either by reflection [e], or by melodies suited to the different affections of the soul [f].

To their education were they indebted for this docility of mind, and those easy and complying manners which united them to each other. During their youth, particular care was taken not to sour their disposition. Respectable and indulgent tutors recalled them to their duty by mild corrections, opportunely administered, and which had more the appearance of exhortation than reproach [g].

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[z] Id. cap. 33. p. 193.
[a] Id. cap. 22. p. 85; c. 33. p. 186.
[b] Id. cap. 30. p. 145; cap. 33. p. 187.
[c] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 488.
[d] Iambl. cap. 27. p. 107.
[e] Id. cap. 31. p. 163.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 23. Chamæl. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 623. Iambl. cap. 25. p. 93; cap. 32. p. 181.
[g] Iambl. cap. 22. p. 85.



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Pythagoras, who reigned over the whole body with the tenderneſs of a father, but with the authority of a monarch, lived with the members of it as with his friends. He took care of them in ſickneſs, and conſoled them under their ſufferings [h]; and it was by the kindneſs with which he treated them, as much as by his underſtanding and knowledge, that he obtained that aſcendency over their minds, that his moſt trivial expreſſions were conſidered by them as oracles; and that they frequently returned no other anſwer to objections urged againſt them, than by theſe words: *He has ſaid it* [i]. By this alſo he infuſed into the hearts of his diſciples that rare and ſublime friendſhip which has paſſed into a proverb [k].

The children of this great family, diſperſed through various climates, without having ever ſeen each other before, made themſelves known by certain ſigns [l], and became as familiar at the firſt interview, as if they had been acquainted from their birth. So cloſely were their intereſts united, that many of them have paſſed the ſeas, and riſked their fortune, to re-eſtabliſh that one of their brethren who had fallen to diſtreſs or indigence [m].

I ſhall here adduce an affecting example of their mutual confidence. One of our ſociety travelling on foot, loſt his way in a deſert, and arrived exhauſted with fatigue at an inn, where he fell ſick. When at the point of death, unable to recompenſe the care and kindneſs with which he had been treated, he traced ſome ſymbolical marks, with a trembling hand, on a tablet, which he directed to be expoſed to view on the public road. A long time after, chance brought to theſe remote places a diſciple of Pythagoras; who, informed by the enigmatical characters he ſaw before him of the

h Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 37.
i Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 409. Val. Max. lib. 8. Extern. No. 1.
k Iambl. cap. 33. p. 186.
l Id. ibid. p. 191.
m Diod. Sic. Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 243. Iambl. cap 33. p. 192.

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misfortunes of the first traveller, stopped, payed the innkeeper the expence he had been at, with interest, and then continued his journey [n].

*Anacharsis.* I am not surprised at this. I will tell you what was related to me at Thebes. You knew Lysis.

*Samian.* He was one of the ornaments of the order. While yet young, he found means to escape from that persecution in which so many illustrious Pythagoreans perished [o]; and repairing to Thebes, undertook the education of Epaminondas [p].

*Anacharsis.* He died there. Your philosophers, in Italy, fearing that the rites peculiar to their society had not been observed in his funeral, sent Theanor to Thebes, to obtain his body, and to distribute presents to those who had assisted him in his old age. Theanor, on his arrival, learned that Epaminondas, who had been initiated into your mysteries, had caused him to be buried according to your statutes, and could not prevail on any person to accept the money he brought [q].

*Samian.* You remind me of an anecdote of this Lysis. One day, coming out of the temple of Juno [r], he met, under the portico, one of his brethren, Euryphemus of Syracuse; who, having requested him to wait a moment, went to prostrate himself before the statue of the goddess; and, after a long meditation, in which he became absorbed without perceiving it, went out at another door. On the morrow, the day was far advanced when he repaired to the assembly of the disciples, whom he found uneasy at the absence of Lysis. He then remembered the promise he had obtained from him, ran to the temple, and found him in the porch, sitting composedly on the same stone on which he had left him the preceding evening.

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[n] Iambl. ibid.
[o] Id. cap. 35. p. 200.
[p] Nep. in Epaminond. cap. 2.
[q] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585.
[r] Iambl. cap. 30. p. 155.

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You will not be aſtoniſhed at this perſeverance, when you are acquainted with the ſpirit of our ſociety. It is rigid, and admits of no relaxation. Far from ſuffering the leaſt infringement on the ſeverity of its laws, it makes perfection conſiſt in converting counſels into precepts.

*Anacharſis.* But among theſe precepts you have ſome ſo trivial and frivolous, as to degrade the mind: as, for example, not to croſs the right leg with the left [s]; not to pare your nails on feſtival days; nor to make uſe of cypreſs wood for your coffins [t].

*Samian.* Do not judge of us from that multitude of obſervances, the greater part of which were added to our rule by rigouriſts, who wiſhed to reform reformation; though ſome have relation to truths of a ſuperior order, and all have been preſcribed to exerciſe us in patience and other virtues. The tendency and power of our inſtitution ſhould be eſtimated by its effects on important occaſions. A diſciple of Pythagoras ſuffers neither tears nor complaints to eſcape him, nor manifeſts either fear or weakneſs in dangers. In affairs of intereſt he deſcends not to entreaties, becauſe he only aſks for juſtice; nor to flatteries, becauſe he loves only the truth [u].

*Anacharſis.* You need ſay no more on this ſubject. I know the power which religion and philoſophy have over ardent imaginations, when devoted to them; but I know alſo that we frequently indemnify ourſelves for the paſſions we ſacrifice by thoſe which we retain. I have ſeen, and had an opportunity of obſerving, a ſociety whoſe time is divided between ſtudy and prayer, which has renounced without regret the pleaſures of ſenſe and the enjoyments of life; and willingly embraced ſolitude, abſtinence, and auſterities [x], becauſe by theſe means it governs kings and people. I ſpeak of the E-

[s] Plut. de Vitioſ. Pud. t. ii. p. 532.
[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 10. Iambl. cap 28. p. 131.
[u] Iambl. cap. 32. p. 174. cap. 33. p. 188.
[x] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 37.

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gyptian prieſts, whoſe inſtitution appears to me perfectly to reſemble yours [y].

*Samian.* With this difference, that, far from labouring to reform the nation, they regard no other intereſt than that of their own ſociety.

*Anacharſis.* The ſame reproach has been thrown on you. Is it not ſaid, that, full of a blind deference for your founder, and a fanatical attachment to your ſociety, you regard the reſt of mankind only as a vile herd of animals of an inferior ſpecies [z]?

*Samian.* Is it poſſible that we ſhould be charged with degrading and contemning mankind, when we conſider beneficence as one of the principal means by which we may approach the Divine Being [a]? we, who have only laboured to effect a cloſe connection between heaven and earth, between the citizens of the ſame city, the children of the ſame family, and between all living beings [b], of whatever nature they may be!

In Egypt, the ſacerdotal order aims only at reſpect and power; it therefore protects deſpotiſm, by which it is in its turn protected [c]. Pythagoras loved mankind affectionately, ſince he wiſhed that they ſhould all be free and virtuous.

*Anacharſis.* But could he flatter himſelf that they would deſire to become ſo with the ſame ardour, and that the leaſt ſhock would not deſtroy the authority of the laws and of virtue?

*Samian.* It was at leaſt a noble act to lay the foundations of that authority; and his firſt ſucceſs might induce him to hope that he ſhould be able to raiſe it to a certain elevation. I have ſpoken to you of the revolution which his arrival in Italy immediately produced in manners; and which would have been gradually extended, had not men poſſeſſing power, but polluted with crimes, entertained the fooliſh ambition of

[y] Chærem. ap. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. p. 308.
[z] Iambl. cap. 35. p. 208.
[a] Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313.
[b] Iambl. cap. 33. p. 185.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66.

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being admitted into our ſociety. They were refuſed, and this refuſal occaſioned its ruin. Calumny attacked us the moment it ſaw itſelf ſupported [d]. We became odious to the multitude, becauſe we condemned the conferring of the offices of magiſtracy by way of lot [e]; and to the rich, becauſe we recommended that they ſhould be beſtowed on merit [f]. Our words were transformed into ſeditious maxims, and our aſſemblies into meetings of conſpirators [g]. Pythagoras, baniſhed from Crotona, could find no aſylum even among the people who owed to him their happineſs. His death could not extinguiſh the perſecution. Many of his diſciples, collected in a houſe, were devoted to the flames, and almoſt all periſhed [h]: the reſt having fled, the inhabitants, who were become ſenſible of their innocence, recalled them ſome time after; but a war taking place, they ſignalized their courage in a battle, and terminated an innocent life by a glorious death [i].

Though after theſe calamitous events the body of the ſociety was threatened with an approaching diſſolution, they continued during ſome time to name a head for its government [k]. Diodorus, one of the laſt, was an enemy to that cleanlineſs and neatneſs which Pythagoras had ſo ſtrongly recommended to us; and affected more rigid manners, a more negligent exterior, and a coarſer habit [l]. He had adherents, and a diſtinction was made in the ſociety between thoſe of the old and thoſe of the new rule.

At preſent, reduced to a ſmall number, ſeparated from each other, and exciting neither envy nor pity, we practiſe in ſecret the precepts of our founder. Judge of the influence they had in the origin of our inſtitution by that which they ſtill retain; for we educated Epaminondas, and Phocion formed himſelf on the examples of our philoſophers.

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d Iambl. cap. 35. p. 210.
e Id. ibid. p. 209.
f Id. ibid. p. 204.
g Juſtin. lib. 20. cap. 4.
h Id. ibid. Plut de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 583.
i Iambl. cap. 35. p. 212.
k Id. cap. 36. p. 213.
l Herm. Iam. et Soſicr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 163.

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It is not neceſſary that I ſhould remind you that this ſociety has produced a multitude of legiſlators, geometricians, aſtronomers, naturaliſts, and celebrated men of every claſs [m]; that it is that which has enlightened Greece; and that the modern philoſophers have derived from our authors the greater part of the diſcoveries which give a luſtre to their works.

The glory of Pythagoras has increaſed: every where he has obtained a diſtinguiſhed rank among the ſages [n]. In ſome cities of Italy divine honours have been decreed him [o]; they were even paid to him during his life [p]: at which you will not be ſurpriſed, if you obſerve in what a manner nations, and even philoſophers, ſpeak of the legiſlators and preceptors of the human race. They conſider them not as men, but as gods [q], as ſouls of a ſuperior order, who, having deſcended from heaven into the Tartarus which we inhabit, have deigned to take on them a human body, and participate in the evils we ſuffer, to inſtitute among us laws and philoſophy [r].

*Anacharſis.* It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the endeavours of theſe beneficent genii have ſucceeded but imperfectly; and, ſince they have not been able univerſally to extend or perpetuate their reformation, I conclude that men will always be equally unjuſt and vicious.

*Samian.* At leaſt, as Socrates has ſaid, until Heaven ſhall more clearly explain itſelf to us; and God, compaſſionating our ignorance, ſhall ſend ſome meſſenger to deliver to us his word, and reveal his will [s].

The next day after this converſation, we ſet out for Athens, and, ſome months after, repaired to the feſtivals of Delos.

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[m] Iambl. cap. 29. p. 132; cap. 36. p. 215. Bruck, Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1101. Fabric. Biblio. Græc. t. i. p. 490.

[n] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 95.

[o] Juſtin. lib. 20. cap. 4.

[p] Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 28. Iambl. cap. 6. p. 23; cap. 28. p. 118, 120. Dio Chryſoſt. Orat. 17. p. 524. Philoſtr. Vit. Apollon. cap. 1. p. 2. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 11.

[q] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 355.

[r] Plat. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 355.

[s] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i p. 31. Id. in Phæd. t. i. p. 85, E. Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 150.

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## CHAP. LXXVI.

### *Delos and the Cyclades.*

In the happy climate in which I reſide, the ſpring is like the morning of a beautiful day. We there enjoy the bleſſings which it brings, and thoſe which it promiſes. The rays of the ſun are no longer obſcured by groſs vapours, nor are they yet irritated by the ardent aſpect of the dog-ſtar. They diſpenſe a pure and ſteady light, which mildly repoſes on all objects, and reſembles that with which the gods are ſurrounded on Olympus.

When the luminary of day firſt appears in the horizon, the trees agitate their newly-unfolded leaves, the banks of the Ilyſſus reſound with the ſong of birds, and the echoes of Mount Hymettus with the muſic of the ruſtic reed; and when again he haſtens to his bed, the heavens are covered with a ſparkling veil, and the nymphs of Attica eſſay with timid feet light dances on the turf. But ſoon he once more returns, and we neither regret the coolneſs of the night, which flies his approach, nor the ſplendour of the preceding day; it ſeems as if a new ſun aroſe on a new univerſe, and brought from the eaſt colours unknown to mortals. Each inſtant adds a new charm to the beauties of nature, and every moment the great work of the development of beings advances towards its perfection.

O reſplendent days! O delicious nights! what an emotion did that ſucceſſion of ſcenes which you preſented to all my ſenſes excite in my ſoul! O god of pleaſures! O ſpring! I have this year beheld thee in all thy glory. You traverſed as a conqueror the fields of Greece, and ſcattered from your head the flowers which were to embelliſh them. You appeared in the valleys, and they were changed into ſmiling meads; you were ſeen on the mountains, and the ſerpyllum and thyme exhaled a thouſand perfumes. You roſe into the air,

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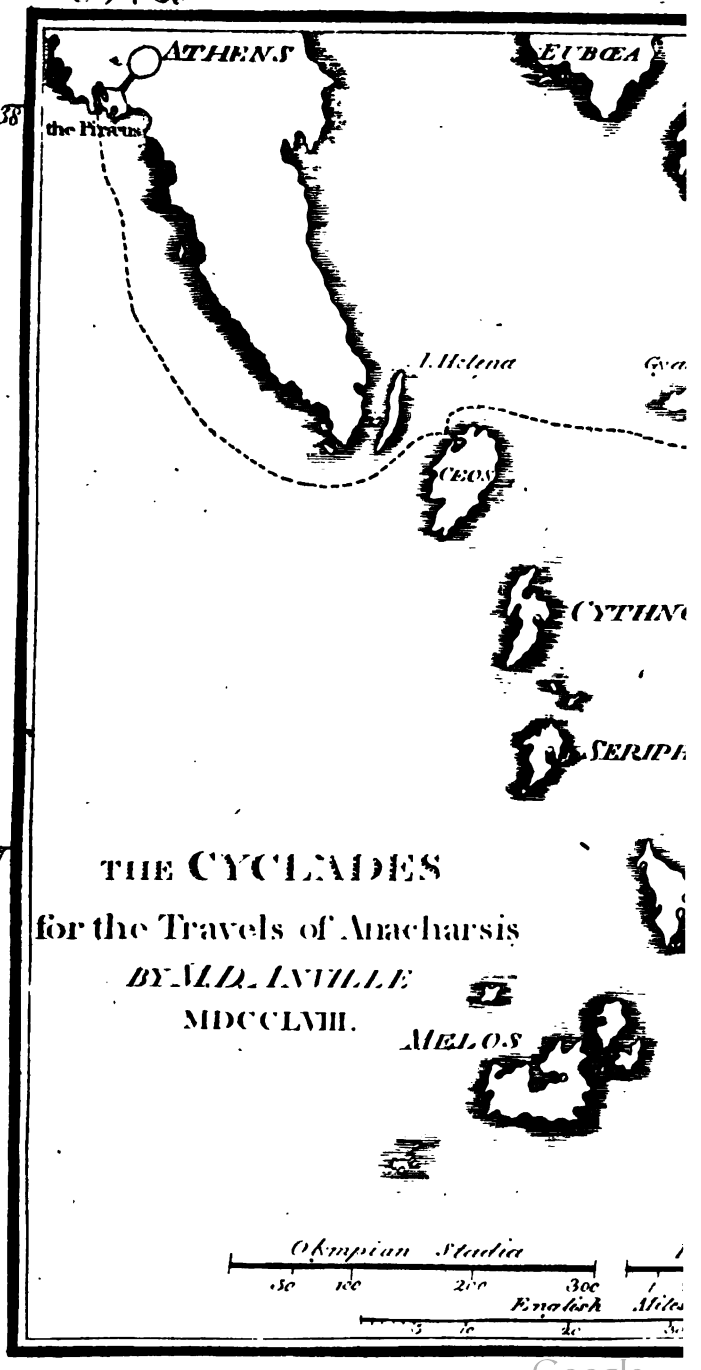


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and diffuſed all around the ſerenity of your ſmile. The Loves eagerly haſtened to you at your call, and caſt on every ſide their flaming darts, enkindling the whole earth. All things revived to receive new embelliſhments, and were embelliſhed to give new pleaſure. Such appeared the world when it emerged from chaos, in thoſe happy moments in which man, charmed with his abode, and aſtoniſhed and delighted at his exiſtence, ſeemed only to poſſeſs underſtanding that he might know, a heart that he might deſire, and a ſoul that he might feel, his happineſs.

This charming ſeaſon brought with it feſtivals ſtill more charming [t]: I mean thoſe which are celebrated every four years at Delos, in honour of Diana and Apollo [u] *. The worſhip of theſe two divinities has ſubſiſted in that iſland for a long ſucceſſion of ages; but as it latterly began to decline, the Athenians inſtituted, during the Peloponneſian war [x], games which drew thither a great concourſe of people from various nations. The youth of Athens were eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves in theſe, and the whole city was in motion. Preparations were likewiſe made for the ſolemn deputation which is annually ſent to the temple of Delos, to preſent a tribute of gratitude for the victory which Theſeus gained over the Minotaur. The voyage is made in the ſame ſhip which carried that hero to Crete; and already the prieſt of Apollo had crowned its ſtern with his ſacred hands [y]. I went down to the Piræus with Philotas and Lyſis. The ſea was covered with ſmall veſſels, which were getting under ſail for Delos. We had not the liberty of choice, but were hurried away by the ſailors, whoſe lively and tumultuous joy was

[t] Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 528. ap. Geogr. Min. t. iv. p. 100. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 211.

[u] Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 326.

* On the 6th of the Attic month Thargelion, the birth of Diana was celebrated; and on the 7th, that of Apollo. In the 3d year of the 109th Olympiad, or the year 341 before Chriſt, the month of Thargelion began on the 2d of May; and thus the 6th and 7th of Thargelion correſponded with the 8th and 9th of May.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104.

[y] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 9.

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mingled with that of the immenſe crowds of people who thronged the beach. We were under way in a moment, got out of the harbour, and arrived in the evening at the iſle of Ceos [z].

On the next day we coaſted Scyros, and, leaving Tenos on the left, entered into the channel which ſeparates Delos from the iſland of Rhenea. We immediately came in ſight of the temple of Apollo, which we ſaluted with new tranſports of joy; and the city of Delos was almoſt entirely diſplayed to our view. With an eager eye, we ran over the ſuperb edifices, elegant porticos, and foreſts of columns by which it is embelliſhed; and this proſpect, momentarily varying, ſuſpended in us the deſire to arrive at the land.

When we had reached the ſhore, we ran to the temple, which is diſtant from it only about a hundred paces [a]. It is more than a thouſand years ſince Eriſichthon, ſon of Cecrops, laid the firſt foundation of this edifice [b], to which the different ſtates of Greece continually add new embelliſhments. It was covered with feſtoons and garlands, which, by the contraſt of their colours, gave a new luſtre to the Parian marble, of which it is built [c]. Within we ſaw the ſtatue of Apollo, leſs celebrated for the delicacy of the workmanſhip than its antiquity [d]. The god is repreſented holding his bow in one hand; and to ſignify that muſic owes to him its origin and charms, with his left he ſupports the three Graces, who are repreſented, the firſt with a lyre, the ſecond with flutes, and the third with a pipe.

Near the ſtatue is that altar which is eſteemed one of the wonders of the world [e]. It is not gold or marble which is admired in it; horns of animals, forcibly bent, and artfully interwoven, form a whole equally ſolid and regular. Some

[z] Æſchin. epiſt. 1. in Demoſth. Oper. p. 205.
[a] Tourneſ. Voyag. t. i. p. 300.
[b] Euſeb. Chron. lib. 2. p. 76.
[c] Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 111.
[d] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1136.
[e] Id. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983. Alert. epig. 1. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 13.

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prieſts, whoſe employment it is to adorn it with flowers and boughs [f], made us obſerve the ingenious contexture of its parts. It was the god himſelf, exclaimed a young prieſt, who in his childhood interwove them as you ſee. Thoſe menacing horns, which you behold ſuſpended on the wall, and thoſe of which the altar is compoſed, are the ſpoils of the wild goats which fed on Mount Cynthus, and which fell beneath the ſhafts of Diana [g]. Here the eye meets nothing but prodigies. This palm tree, which diſplays its branches over our heads, is the ſacred tree that ſupported Latona when ſhe brought forth the divinities we adore [h]. The form of this altar has become celebrated by a problem in geometry, of which an exact ſolution will perhaps never be given. The plague laid waſte our iſland, and Greece was ravaged by war. The oracle, being conſulted by our anceſtors, declared that theſe calamities would ceaſe if they could make this altar double the ſize it is of at preſent [i]. They imagined it would be ſufficient to make it twice as large every way; but they found, with ſurpriſe, that they were conſtructing an enormous maſs, that would contain the altar in queſtion eight times. After other attempts, equally fruitleſs, they ſent to conſult Plato, then juſt returned from Egypt; who told their meſſengers, that the god, by this oracle, ſported with the ignorance of the Greeks, and exhorted them to cultivate the accurate ſciences, rather than to be continually occupied in diſſenſions and wars. At the ſame time he propoſed a ſimple and mechanical method of reſolving the problem; but the plague had ceaſed when his anſwer arrived. This, ſaid Philotas to me, was probably what the oracle had foreſeen.

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[f] Spanh. in Callim. t. ii. p. 97.

[g] Callim. Hymn in Apoll. v. 60.

[h] Homer. in Odyſſ. lib. 6. v. 162. Callim. in Del. v. 208. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 489. Cicer. de Leg. lib. i. t. iii. p. 115. Plin. lib. 16. c. 44. t. ii. p. 40. Pauſ. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643.

[i] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 579. Id. de 'E. Delph. p. 386. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 12. Extern. No. 1. Montucla, Hiſt. des Mathem. t. i. p. 186.



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These words, though pronounced in a low voice, engaged the attention of a citizen of Delos, who approached us, and showing us an altar less embellished than the former, This, said he, is never drenched with the blood of victims; on this the devouring flame is never kindled. Hither Pythagoras came, to offer, after the example of the people, cakes, barley, and wheat [k]; and beyond all doubt the god was better pleased with the enlightened worship of that great man, than with all those streams of blood with which our altars are perpetually inundated.

He afterwards pointed out to us whatever was worthy our remark within the temple. We listened to him with respect; we admired the wisdom of his discourse, the mildness of his aspect, and the kind attention which he paid to us. But, what was our surprise when mutual explanations discovered to us Philocles! He was one of the principal inhabitants of Delos, for his riches and his dignities; he was the father of Ismene, whose beauty was the subject of conversation among all the women of Greece; and it was him to whose hospitality we had been recommended by letters from Athens. After having repeatedly embraced us, Hasten, said he, to salute my household gods; come and see Ismene, and you shall be witnesses to her marriage, and partake in the joy of Leucippe her happy mother. They will not receive you as strangers, but as friends, whom Heaven has long destined to visit them. Yes; I swear to you, added he, grasping our hands, all those who love virtue have legitimate claims to the friendship of Philocles and his family.

We came out of the temple: his friendly impatience would scarcely permit us to take a view of that multitude of statues and altars by which it is surrounded. In the midst of these stands a figure of Apollo, about twenty-four feet high [l].

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[k] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 848. Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. 2. § 28. p. 153. Not. ibid.

[l] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 301. Wheler's Journey, book i. p. 56. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 107.

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Long treſſes of hair float on his ſhoulders; and his robe, which is folded on his left arm, ſeems to obey the breath of the zephyr. The ſtatue and the plinth on which it ſtands are of a ſingle block of marble: it was dedicated by the inhabitants of Naxos [m]. Near this coloſſus, Nicias, general of the Athenians, cauſed to be placed a palm-tree of bronze [n], the workmanſhip of which is equally precious with the materials. Farther on we read, on ſeveral ſtatues, this pompous inſcription [o]: "The iſland of Chios is famous for its excellent wines; it will hereafter be ſo for the works of Bupalus and Anthermus." Theſe two artiſts lived about two centuries ſince; they have been ſucceeded and eclipſed by the Phidiaſes and Praxitelles; and thus, while they fought to eternize their glory, they have only perpetuated their vanity.

The city of Delos has neither towers nor walls, and is only defended by the preſence of Apollo [p]. The houſes are built of brick, or a kind of granite very common in the iſland [q]. That of Philocles ſtood on the banks of a lake [r], covered with ſwans [s], and almoſt ſurrounded by palm-trees. Leucippe, informed of the return of her huſband, came out to meet him, and we took her for Iſmene; but ſoon after Iſmene appeared, and we imagined we beheld the goddeſs of love. Philocles exhorted us mutually to baniſh all conſtraint; and from that moment we experienced at once all the ſurpriſe of a new connection, and all the enjoyments of an ancient friendſhip.

Opulence ſhone conſpicuous in the houſe of Philocles; but prudence had ſo well regulated the uſe of his wealth, that it ſeemed to have granted every thing to utility and convenience, but nothing to caprice. Slaves happy in their ſervitude anti-

[m] Id. ibid p. 301.
[n] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525.
[o] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii.
[p] Callim. in Del. v. 24. Cicer. Orat. pro Leg. Manil. cap. 18. t. v. p. 20.
[q] Tourneſ. Voyag. t. i. p. 305.
[r] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 171. Callim. in Apoll. v. 79; in Del. v. 261. Theogn. Sent. v. 7. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 106.
[s] Euripid. in Ion. v. 167; in Iphig. in Taur. v. 1103. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 870.



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cipated our wiſhes. Some poured on our hands and feet water purer than cryſtal; and others loaded with fruits a table placed in the garden [t], in the midſt of a grove of myrtles. We began by libations in honour of the gods who preſide over hoſpitality. Several queſtions were put to us relative to our travels; and Philocles, more than once, ſeemed ſenſibly affected at the remembrance of the friends he had left on the continent of Greece. After ſome moments ſpent in delightful converſation, we went out with him to ſee the preparations for the feſtivals.

Theſe were to commence on the following day *; and on the day after, the birth of Diana was to be commemorated at Delos [u]. Strangers were continually arriving in the iſland, brought thither by piety, intereſt, or pleaſure. They already could find no room in the houſes; and tents were erected in the public places, and ſome even in the fields. Friends met with and embraced each other after a long abſence; and theſe affecting ſcenes attracted us to different parts of the iſland; and, no leſs attentive to the objects we beheld than to the diſcourſe of Philocles, we informed ourſelves of the nature and particularities of a country ſo famous throughout Greece. The iſland of Delos is only ſeven or eight miles in circuit, and its breadth is but about one third of its length [x]. Mount Cynthus, which extends from north to ſouth, terminates in a plain that on the weſt ſide reaches to the ſea. The city ſtands in this plain [y]. The reſt of the iſland preſents only an uneven and ſterile ſoil, if we except ſome pleaſant valleys, which are formed by ſeveral hills, on the ſouth ſide [z]. The ſource of the Inopus is the only ſpring with which it is favoured by nature; but we find, in different places, ciſterns

[t] Theod. Prodr. in Rhod. et Doſicl. Amor. lib. 2. p. 57.

* The 8th of May of the year 341 before J. C.

[u] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 44.

[x] Tournef. Voyag. p. 287, 288.

[y] Strab. lib. 10. p. 485.

[z] Euripid. Iphig. in Taur. v. 1235. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 311.

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and lakes, which preſerve the rain water during ſeveral months.

Delos was originally governed by kings, who united the prieſthood to the regal authority[a]. It afterwards fell under the power of the Athenians, who purified it during the Peloponneſian war[b]. The tombs of its ancient inhabitants were removed to the iſle of Rhenea; and there their ſucceſſors have ſeen for the firſt time the light of day, and there are they to behold it for the laſt. But if they are deprived of the advantage of being born and dying in their country[c], they enjoy there a profound tranquillity during their lives. The fury of barbarians[d], the enmity of nations[e], and the animoſities of individuals, all ſubſide at the view of this ſacred land; nor ever have the courſers of Mars trodden it with their enſanguined feet[f]. Every thing that can preſent the image of war is rigorouſly baniſhed; and even the animal moſt faithful to man is not ſuffered to remain in it, becauſe he would deſtroy the weaker and more timid creatures *. In fine, Peace has choſen Delos for her abode, and the houſe of Philocles for her palace.

We were approaching the latter, when we ſaw a youth coming to meet us, whoſe air, ſtature, and features ſeemed to beſpeak him more than mortal. This, ſaid Philocles to us, is Theagenes, whom my daughter has choſen for her huſband; and Leucippe has juſt fixed the day of their marriage. O my father! replied Theagenes, eagerly embracing him, my gratitude increaſes every moment. Let theſe generous ſtrangers deign to partake it with me. They are my friends, ſince they are yours; and I feel that exceſs of joy has need of ſupport as well as exceſs of grief. You will par-

[a] Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. v. 80. Ovid. Metam. lib. 13. v. 632. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1. cap. 50. t. i. p. 125.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104.

[c] Æſchin. Epiſt. ad Philocr. p. 205. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

[d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 97.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269. Liv. lib. 44. cap. 29.

[f] Callim. in Del. v. 277.

* It was not permitted to keep dogs at Delos (Strab. lib. 10. p. 486.) leſt they ſhould kill the hares and rabbits.



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don this tranſport, added he, turning to us, if you have ever loved; and if you have not, you will pardon it when you ſhall behold Iſmene. The attention we ſhowed him ſeemed to calm the agitation of his feelings, and to relieve him under the weight of his happineſs.

Philocles was received by Leucippe and Iſmene, as Hector was by Andromache every time he re-entered within the walls of Troy. Supper was ſerved up in a gallery adorned with pictures and ſtatues; and our hearts, expanded to the pureſt joy, taſted all the charms of confidence and liberty.

In the mean time, Philocles put a lyre in the hands of Iſmene, and requeſted her to ſing one of thoſe hymns which celebrate the birth of Apollo and Diana. Expreſs by your ſong, ſaid he, what the damſels of Delos will to-morrow repreſent in the temple by their agile ſteps. Anacharſis and Philotas will thus become better acquainted with the origin of our feſtivals, and the nature of the ſpectacle which will be preſented to their view.

Iſmene took the lyre, touched, as if by accident, ſome tender and moving notes, which eſcaped not Theagenes, and ſuddenly preluding with rapidity in the Dorian mode, painted with ſtrokes of fire the implacable anger of Juno againſt an odious rival[5]. "In vain does Latona ſeek to eſcape her "vengeance; ſhe has had the misfortune to pleaſe Jupiter, "and the fruit of her love muſt become the inſtrument of "her puniſhment, and periſh with her. Juno appeared in "the heavens, Mars on Mount Hæmus in Thrace, Iris on a "mountain near the ſea; they terrified by their preſence "the air, the earth, and the iſlands. Trembling, loſt, urged "by the pains of child-bearing, Latona, after long wander-"ings, arrives in Theſſaly, on the banks of the river by "which that country is watered. O Peneus! ſhe cries, re-"ceive in thy peaceful waters the children of Jupiter, which

[5] Callim in Del. v. 40.



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" I bear in my womb. O nymphs of Theſſaly, daughters of " the god whoſe ſuccour I implore! join with me to prevail " on him to grant my requeſt. But he hears me not; and " my prayers only incite him to haſten his ſpeed. O Pelion! " O ye fearful mountains! you therefore are my only re- " ſource: will you refuſe me in your gloomy caverns the re- " fuge which you afford to the lioneſs in travail?

" At theſe words the Peneus, moved to compaſſion, ar- " reſts the courſe of his foaming waters. Mars beheld him; " and, tranſported with rage, was on the point of burying " the river beneath the ſmoking fragments of Mount Pangæus: " he uttered a loud cry, and ſtruck his ſpear againſt his buckler. " The ſound, like the ſhout of an army, ſhook the plains of " Theſſaly and Mount Oſſa, and re-echoed in long murmurs " through the deep caverns of Pindus. Penens had been no " more, had not Latona abandoned the places on which her " preſence had drawn the anger of heaven. She came to our " iſland, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance they had refuſed her; but " the menaces of Iris filled her with terror.

" Delos alone was leſs moved with fear than with pity. " Delos was then only a ſterile and deſert rock, driven at the " pleaſure of the winds and waves, which had thrown her " into the midſt of the Cyclades, when ſhe heard the plain- " tive accents of Latona, and offered her an aſylum on the " wild banks of the Inopus. The goddeſs, tranſported with " gratitude, ſinks at the foot of a tree which offers her its " ſhade, and which for this benefaction will enjoy an eternal " ſpring. There, exhauſted with fatigue, and attacked by " the moſt cruel pains, ſhe opens her almoſt extinguiſhed " eyes, in which joy ſhines in the midſt of the expreſſions " of grief and ſuffering; and at length fixes them on the " precious pledges of her love, on the children whoſe birth " had coſt her ſo many tears. The nymphs of the Inopus, " witneſſes to her tranſports, announce them to the world by " ſacred ſongs; and Delos is no longer the ſport of the in-



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" conſtant waves, but remains fixed on columns which riſe " from the bottom of the ſea [h], and which reſt on the foun- " dations of the earth. Her glory is univerſally celebrated; " and from every ſide nations haſten to her feſtivals, to im- " plore the god who owes to her his birth, and who renders " her happy by his preſence."

Iſmene accompanied theſe words with a tender glance directed to Theagenes, and we began to breathe more freely; but our ſouls were ſtill agitated by the ſhocks of terror and pity. Never had the lyre of Orpheus, nor the voice of the Sirens, produced ſounds ſo moving. While Iſmene ſang, I and Philotas repeatedly interrupted her by exclamations of admiration; Philocles and Leucippe laviſhed on her marks of tenderneſs, that delighted her ſtill more than our praiſes; Theagenes liſtened and was ſilent.

At length the day arrived which had been expected with ſo much impatience. The morning faintly indicated in the horizon the courſe of the ſun, when we arrived at the foot of Cynthus. This mountain is but of a moderate height [i]. It is a block of granite, of different colours, and containing pieces of a blackiſh and ſhining talc. From its top a ſurpriſing number of iſlands, of various ſizes, are diſcoverable. They are diſperſed in the midſt of the ocean, in the ſame beautiful diſorder as the ſtars are ſcattered in the heavens. The eye runs over them with avidity, and ſeeks them again after having loſt them. Sometimes it wanders with pleaſure in the channels which ſeparate them from each other, and ſometimes ſlowly meaſures the lakes and liquid plains which they embrace: for we do not here view one of thoſe boundleſs ſeas where the imagination is no leſs overwhelmed than aſtoniſhed by the grandeur of the ſcene; and where the diſquieted mind, ſeeking repoſe on all ſides, only finds every where one vaſt ſolitude which fills it with melancholy, and

[h] Pind. ap Strab. lib. 10. p. 485.
[i] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 307. | Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 111. Wheler's Journ. book i. p. 58.

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one immenſe ſpace by which it is confounded. Here the boſom of the waves is become the habitation of mortals. We behold a city ſcattered over the ſurface of the ſea; and view the picture of Egypt when the Nile has inundated the plains, and appears to bear on its waters the hills which afford a retreat to the inhabitants [k].

The greater part of theſe iſlands, ſaid Philocles, are named Cyclades *, becauſe they form a kind of circle round Delos [l]. Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, ſubjected a part of them by his arms [m]; and Minos, king of Crete, governed ſome of them by his laws [n]. The Phœnicians [o], the Carians [p], the Perſians, the Greeks [q], and all the nations which have poſſeſſed the empire of the ſea, have ſucceſſively conquered or colonized them: but the colonies of the latter have effaced all traces of thoſe of other nations; and powerful intereſts have for ever attached the deſtiny of the Cyclades to that of Greece.

Some of them were at firſt governed by kings which they had themſelves choſen; and others had received them from their conquerors [r]: but the love of liberty, which is natural to the Greeks, and ſtill more natural to iſlanders, deſtroyed the yoke under which they had groaned. All theſe ſtates became ſmall republics, jealous of each other, and mutually endeavouring to preſerve a balance between their reſpective powers, by the alliances and protection which they ſolicited on the continent. They enjoyed that happy calm which nations can only derive from their obſcurity, when Aſia invaded Europe, and the Perſians covered the ſea with their ſhips. The iſlands, ſeized with conſternation, were enfeebled by their diviſions. Some meanly joined the enemy, but others

[k] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 97. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 33.

* *Cycle* in Greek ſignifies *circle*.

[l] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211.

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 51.

[n] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 349.

[o] Boch. Geograph. p. 405.

[p] Thucyd. ibid. Diod. Sic. ibid.

[q] Herodot. l. 8. c. 46, 48. Thucyd. paſſim.

[r] Id. lib. 1. cap. 64. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 345.

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had the courage to reſiſt. After the defeat of the Perſians, the Athenians formed the project of conquering them all. They imputed to them as almoſt equal crimes, their having aſſiſted or having deſerted them; and ſucceſſively ſubjected them, under pretexts more or leſs plauſible.

Athens gave them her laws, and exacted from them taxes proportionable to their abilities. Under the protection of her power, they behold commerce, agriculture, and the arts flouriſh; and would be happy could they forget that they once were free.

They are not all equally fertile: there are ſome which are ſcarcely able to ſupply the wants of their inhabitants; as, for inſtance, Mycone, which you ſee to the eaſt of Delos, whence it is diſtant only twenty-four ſtadia [s] *. We there ſee no ſtreams ruſh from the ſummits of the mountains and fertilize the plains [t]. The earth, abandoned to the burning rays of the ſun, inceſſantly ſighs for the ſuccours of heaven; and it is only by the moſt laborious efforts, that wheat, and other grain neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the huſbandman, are produced. All the powers of the ſoil ſeem to be exhauſted in favour of vines and fig-trees; the fruits of which, of the growth of this iſland, are in great requeſt [u]. Partridges, quails, and ſeveral birds of paſſage, are found there in abundance [x]: but theſe advantages, which are common to this and the neighbouring iſlands, are but a feeble reſource for the inhabitants; who, beſides the ſterility of the country, have alſo to complain of the rigour of the climate. Their heads are early deprived of their natural ornament [y]; and thoſe floating treſſes which add ſo many graces to beauty, ſeem only to be granted to their youth, that their loſs may be ſoon regretted.

[s] Tournef. t. i. p. 278.

* 2268 toiſes (ſomewhat above two miles and a half).

[t] Spon. t. i. p. 115. Wheler's Journey, book i. p. 65.

[u] Tournef. t. i. p. 281.

[x] Id. ibid. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 115. Wheler, book i. p. 65.

[y] Plin. lib. 11. cap. 37. t. i. p. 615. Strab. l. 10. p. 487. Tournef. p. 280.

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The Myconians are reproached with being avaricious and parasites [z]: they would be less censured, if, in more favourable circumstances, they were prodigal and arrogant; for the greatest misfortune of indigence is, to give birth to vices, but not to be able to procure a pardon for them.

Rhenea, which you see to the west, is distant from us about five hundred paces [a]: it is less, but more fertile than Mycone, and distinguished for the riches of its hills and plains. A chain which seemed to unite the two islands, was formerly stretched cross the channel by which they are separated. This was the work of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos [b], who imagined that he should thus be able to communicate to the one the sanctity of the other *. But the isle of Rhenea has more legitimate claims to our veneration; it contains the ashes of our fathers, and will one day contain ours. To that eminence directly opposite us, have been conveyed the tombs which were formerly at Delos [c]. Their number is continually increasing; and they may be considered as so many trophies which death erects to record his triumphs over mortals.

Turn your eyes toward the north-west, and you will discover the coasts of the island of Tenos. Without the walls of the capital is one of those venerable groves, the duration of which is secured by religion, and to which a long succession of winters have been able to do no injury [d]. Its gloomy alleys are the avenues to a superb temple, which, in obedience to the oracle of Apollo, the inhabitants formerly erected to Neptune. It is one of the most ancient sacred asylums in Greece [e]; and is surrounded by several spacious edifices, where the pub-

[z] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 7. Suid. in Μυκών.

[a] Tournef. p. 315.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13; lib. 3. cap. 104.

* About the same time, Crœsus besieged the city of Ephesus; the inhabitants of which, to obtain the protection of Diana, their principal divinity, fastened one end of a cord to their walls, and the other to the temple of Diana, distant from them 7 stadia, or 661¼ toises (6 furlongs 90 yards). Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 26. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 6. cap. 50. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 26.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104. Strab. lib. 10. p. 426. Tournef. p. 316.

[d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487.

[e] Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. No. 63.

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lic repaſts are given, and in which the people aſſemble during the feſtivals of the god [f]; who receives the praiſes of his votaries for diſpelling the maladies by which mortals are afflicted [g], and for having deſtroyed the ſerpents which formerly rendered this iſland uninhabitable [h].

The people who firſt cultivated Tenos, created a new ſoil; a ſoil which ſatisfies, or even anticipates, the wiſhes of the labourer. It produces the moſt exquiſite fruits, and grain of every kind. On all ſides, a thouſand fountains guſh forth [i]; and the plains that are enriched by the tribute of their waters, appear to be embelliſhed with new beauties, from the contraſt of the arid and deſert mountains by which they are ſurrounded [k].

Tenos is ſeparated from Andros by a channel twelve ſtadia in breadth [l] *. In the latter iſland we find mountains covered with verdure; ſprings more abundant than at Tenos; valleys as delightful as thoſe of Theſſaly; fruits equally beautiful to the eye, and delicious to the taſte [m]; and a city renowned for the difficulty the Athenians found in conquering it, and the worſhip of Bacchus, the deity who there principally receives adoration. I have been a witneſs to the tranſports of joy which his feſtivals inſpire [n]. I beheld them at an age when the ſoul receives impreſſions which the memory never recals but with ſenſations of pleaſure. I was on board a veſſel returning from Eubœa, and admiring with delight the glowing radiance of the new-born day, when loud ſhouts of joy drew our eyes towards the iſle of Andros. The firſt rays of the ſun had gilded an eminence on which ſtood a beautiful temple. The people thronged together on all ſides, crowded round the

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[f] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487.

[g] Philocor. ap. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 26.

[h] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211. Steph. Byzant. in Τήνος. Heſych. Mileſ.

[i] Tourneſ. t. i. p. 357. Plin. ibid. Steph. Byzant. in Τήνος. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 526.

[k] Tourneſ. ibid.

[l] Scylax. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 55. Tourneſ. p. 355.

* Nearly half a league.

[m] Tourneſ. p. 348.

[n] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 26. p. 518. Philoſtr. Icon. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 799.



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temple, raiſed their hands to heaven, proſtrated themſelves on the earth, and gave a looſe to the moſt extravagant expreſſions of joy. We landed, and were hurried by the multitude to the top of a hill, where a thouſand voices exclaimed at once, Come, ſee, taſte: theſe ſtreams of wine which ruſh from the temple of Bacchus, were yeſterday, laſt night, this morning, only pure water. Bacchus is the author of this prodigy, which he renews every year, on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour. He will repeat it to-morrow, the day following, and during ſeven ſucceſſive days[o]. To theſe exclamations preſently ſucceeded a mild and pleaſing harmony. "The Achelous," it was ſaid, "is celebrated for his reeds, the Peneus derives all his glory from the valley which he waters, and the Pactolus from the flowers with which his banks are embelliſhed; but the fountain which we ſing renders men ſtrong and eloquent, and flows at the immediate command of Bacchus[p]."

While the prieſts of the temple, who were well acquainted with the ſubterranean paſſages through which the waters flowed, thus impoſed on the credulity of the multitude, I was tempted to congratulate them on the ſucceſs of their artifice. They deceived the people, but they rendered them happy.

At an almoſt equal diſtance from Andros and Ceos, we find the little iſland of Gyaros, fitted to be the place of baniſhment for robbers and banditti, ſhould they be driven from the reſt of the earth[q]. It is a wild and rocky country[r]. Nature has refuſed it every thing, as ſhe ſeems to have laviſhed all ſhe can beſtow on the iſle of Ceos.

The ſhepherds of Ceos render divine honours, and conſecrate their flocks, to the ſhepherd Ariſtæus[s], who firſt led a colony to this iſland. They ſay that he ſometimes returns to

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[o] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 103. t. i. p. 121; lib. 31. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 549.
[p] Philoſtr. Icon. l. 1. c. 25. p. 799.
[q] Juven. ſat. 1. v. 73.
[r] Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 69. Juven. ſat. 10. v. 170.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. t. i. p. 325; edit. Weſſel. Virg. Georg. lib. 1. v. 14.

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enjoy their tranquil groves, from the inmoſt receſſes of which he watches over their ſnow-white bulls.

The prieſts of Ceos annually repair to a high mountain, to obſerve the riſing of the dog-ſtar [t]; to offer ſacrifices to that ſtar, and to Jupiter; and to ſolicit the return of thoſe beneficial winds, which, during forty days, blunt the ardent rays of the ſun, and diffuſe a delicious coolneſs through the air.

The inhabitants of Ceos have erected a temple in honour of Apollo [u]; and preſerve with veneration that which Neſtor, on his return from Troy, cauſed to be built to Minerva [x]. They have joined the worſhip of Bacchus to that of theſe divinities [y]. So many religious acts ſeem to have ſecured to them the favour of the gods. The iſland abounds in fruits and paſturage [z]. The people poſſeſs ſtrength of body and vigour of mind; and are ſo numerous that they have found it neceſſary to diſtribute themſelves in four cities [a], of which Ioulis is the principal. It is ſituated on an eminence, and derives its name from a ſpring which flows at the foot of the hill [b]. Careſſus, which is diſtant from it twenty-five ſtadia *, ſerves it as a harbour, and enriches it with its commerce.

Ioulis would furniſh inſtances of perſons attaining to a great old age [c], did not cuſtom, or the laws, permit ſuicide to thoſe who, having arrived at the age of ſixty years, are no longer in condition to enjoy life, or rather to ſerve the republic [d]. They ſay that it is ſhameful to ſurvive ourſelves, to uſurp on the earth a place we can no longer properly fill, and to appropriate to our own enjoyment that exiſtence which we have only received for the uſe of our country. The day which is to terminate their life is to them a feſtival; they gird their

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[t] Heracl. Pont. ap. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 57. t. iii. p. 47. Apoll. Argon. v. 535.
[u] Strab lib. 10. p. 487.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 22. p. 456.
[z] Virg. Georg. lib. 1. v. 14.
[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486.
[b] Step. in Ἰουλὶς. Tournef. p. 332.
* Nearly a league.
[c] Heraclid. Pont. de Polit.
[d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 37. Steph. ibid. Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 6. No. 8.

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brows with a chaplet; and, taking a cup of the juice of hemlock or poppies, ſink inſenſibly into an eternal ſleep.

Such courage cannot but be capable of effecting every thing to preſerve liberty. On a certain occaſion, when beſieged by the Athenians, and on the point of ſurrendering for want of proviſions, they threatened the beſiegers, that, unleſs they retired, they would maſſacre all the moſt aged citizens in the place [c]. Moved either by horror, compaſſion, or fear, the Athenians departed; and left, without farther moleſtation, a people who equally braved both nature and death. They have ſince ſubjected them, and ſoftened the harſhneſs of their character by ſervitude and the arts. The city is adorned with ſuperb edifices; its walls are compoſed of enormous blocks of marble; and acceſs to it is facilitated by roads made over the neighbouring eminences [f]. But it is rendered more illuſtrious by having produced many celebrated men; and, among others, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Prodicus [g].

Simonides [h], the ſon of Leoprepis, was born toward the 3d year of the 55th Olympiad *. He merited the eſteem of the kings, ſages, and great men of his time. Among the number of theſe was Hipparchus, whom Athens would have adored, could Athens have endured a maſter [i]; Pauſanias king of Lacedæmon, who, by his ſucceſs againſt the Perſians, had been raiſed to the ſummit of honour and pride [k]; Alevas, king of Theſſaly, who had eclipſed the glory of his predeceſſors, and increaſed that of his country [l]; Hiero, who was firſt the tyrant, and afterward the father, of Syracuſe [m]; and, laſtly, Themiſtocles, who was not a king, but who had triumphed over the moſt powerful of kings [n].

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[c] Id. ibid.
[f] Tournef. p. 332, 333.
[g] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486.
[h] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 591. Bayle, Dict. Art. Sim. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 250.
* The year 558 before Chriſt.
[i] Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228.
[k] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 41.
[l] Theocr. Idyll. 16. v. 44. Plut. de Fratern. Amor. t. ii. p. 492. Sozom. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. p. 322.
[m] Xenoph. in Hieron. p. 901. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 15.
[n] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 114.

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According to a cuſtom which ſtill continues, ſovereigns then invited to their courts ſuch perſons as were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge or genius. Sometimes they cauſed them to enter into competition with each other, and required from them thoſe ſallies of wit which ſhine more than they enlighten. At other times they conſulted them on the myſteries of nature, the principles of morals, or the forms of government; and it was expected that, to the queſtions propounded to them, they ſhould return perſpicuous, prompt, and preciſe anſwers, becauſe they were to inſtruct a prince, pleaſe his courtiers, and confound their rivals. The greater part of theſe anſwers are current through all Greece, and have deſcended to poſterity; which is no longer able to eſtimate their juſt value, becauſe they contain alluſions now not underſtood, or truths too generally known. Among thoſe which are preſerved of Simonides, there are ſome which particular circumſtances have rendered celebrated.

One day, at an entertainment[o], the king of Lacedæmon had requeſted him to confirm, by ſome important and comprehenſive maxim, the high opinion he had conceived of his philoſophy. Simonides, who was acquainted with the ambitious projects of that prince, and foreſaw their fatal iſſue, ſaid to him—"Remember that you are a man." Pauſanias ſaw nothing in this anſwer but a frivolous or trite obſervation; but, in the diſgrace into which he ſoon after fell, he diſcovered in it a novel truth, and one of the moſt important of thoſe of which kings are ignorant.

On another occaſion[p], the queen of Syracuſe aſked him whether knowledge were preferable to riches. This was a ſnare for Simonides, who was only honoured for the former of theſe advantages, but who only ſought the latter. Obliged to falſify his ſentiments, or condemn his conduct, he had recourſe to irony; and gave the preference to riches, becauſe

[o] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 41. | [p] Ariſtot. Rhet. l. 2. c. 16. t. ii. p. 586.

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philoſophers continually beſieged the manſions of the rich. This problem has ſince been reſolved in a manner more honourable to philoſophy. Ariſtippus, being aſked by king Dionyſius, why the ſage paid his court with ſo much aſſiduity to the rich man, who never acted in the ſame manner towards the ſage[q]? the wiſe man, replied he, knows his wants, but the other does not know his.

Simonides was both a poet and a philoſopher[r]. The happy union of theſe qualities rendered his talents more uſeful, and his wiſdom more agreeable. His ſtyle, which is remarkable for its ſweetneſs, is ſimple, harmonious, and admirable for the choice and arrangement of the words[s]. He ſang the praiſes of the gods, the victories of the Greeks over the Perſians, and the triumphs of the athletæ in the games. He wrote the hiſtory of the reigns of Cambyſes and Darius in verſe; exerciſed his genius in almoſt every kind of poetry; and principally ſucceeded in elegies and plaintive ſongs[t]. No perſon was ever better acquainted with the ſublime and delightful art of intereſting and moving the paſſions; nor did ever any one paint with greater exactneſs, thoſe ſituations and misfortunes which excite pity[u]. It is not the poet to whom we are attentive; we hear the cries and groans of a diſtracted family, which weeps the death of a father or a ſon[x]; we behold Danae; we ſee an affectionate mother ſtruggling with her ſon againſt the fury of the waves, while a thouſand gulfs yawn on all ſides, and menace her with a thouſand deaths[y]; the ſhade of Achilles riſes from the bottom of the tomb, and announces to the Greeks, about to quit the ſhores of Ilium,

[q] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 69.
[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 331. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 22. t. ii. p. 415.
[s] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 631. Dionyſ. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 420.
[t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 592.
[u] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 420. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 631. Vit. Æſchyl.
[x] Harpocr. in Τεμένη.
[y] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. p. 221.



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the innumerable calamities which await them by sea and land [z].

These poetical scenes which Simonides has animated with so much passion and emotion, are so many benefits conferred on mankind: for it is of real utility to force from their eyes those precious tears which they shed with so much pleasure; and to nourish in their hearts those sentiments of compassion which nature designed to unite them to each other, and which alone can unite the wretched.

As the characters of men have a great influence on their opinions, it might be expected that the philosophy of Simonides would be mild and unassuming. His system, as far as we can judge from some of his writings, and many of his maxims, was reducible to the following articles:

"Let us not endeavour to penetrate the boundless profundity of the Supreme Being [a]; but be satisfied with knowing, that whatever is, exists by his command [b]; and that he possesses perfect virtue [c], of which men have only the feeble emanation they derive from him [d]. Let them not, therefore, boast of perfection to which they cannot attain [e]. Virtue has fixed her abode amid steep and rugged rocks [f]: if, by arduous labour, mortals should be able to raise themselves to the elevation at which she resides, a thousand fatal circumstances would quickly hurl him down the precipice [g]. Thus their life is a mixture of good and evil; and it is as difficult to be repeatedly virtuous, as it is impossible always to continue so [h]. Let us take a pleasure in praising noble actions, and shut our eyes on those which deserve reprehension; either from duty, when the offender has claims to our affection [i]; or from lenity, when he is indifferent to us. Far from censuring others

z Longin. de Sublim. cap. 15.
a Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 22. t. ii. p. 415.
b Simonid. ap. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autolyc. lib. 2. p. 256.
c Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 341.
d Simonid. ibid. p. 108.
e Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 344.
f Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 585.
g Plat. ibid.
h Id. ibid. Stob. p. 560.
i Plat. ibid. p. 346.



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with too great ſeverity, let us remember the frailty inſeparable from our nature [k]; and that we are only deſtined to remain for a moment on the ſurface of the earth, and to be for ever encloſed in its bowels [l]. Time haſtens with extreme rapidity; a thouſand ages, in compariſon with eternity, are but as a point, or as a very ſmall part of an imperceptible point [m]; let us employ moments ſo fugitive in enjoying the bleſſings of life [n], the principal of which are, health, beauty, and riches acquired without fraud [o]; ſince from the proper uſe of theſe reſults that true enjoyment, without which, wealth, grandeur, and immortality itſelf, can give us no pleaſure [p]."

Theſe principles, which are dangerous becauſe they tend to extinguiſh courage in the virtuous heart, and to deaden the remorſe of guilt, might be conſidered only as an error of the mind, if Simonides, while he inculcated ſuch lenity to others, had been but the more rigorous in the regulation of his own conduct. But he dared to propoſe an act of injuſtice to Themiſtocles [q]; and bluſhed not to praiſe the murderers of Hipparchus, by whom he had been loaded with favours [r]. He is alſo reproached with having been a ſlave to avarice, which even the liberality of Hiero could not ſatisfy; and which, as is uſual with that wretched paſſion, became every day more inſatiable [s]. He was the firſt who degraded poetry, by making it a ſhameful traffic of praiſe [t]. He idly ſaid, that the pleaſure of amaſſing riches was the only one of which, at his age, he was capable [u]; and that he would rather chooſe to enrich his enemies after his death, than be obliged to have recourſe to the generoſity of his friends during his life [x]; that, after all, no perſon was exempt from defects; and that, if even

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[k] Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 107.
[l] Stob. ſerm. 120 p. 608.
[m] Plut. ibid. p. 111.
[n] Stob. ſerm. 6. p. 531.
[o] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 574.
[p] Athen. lib. 12. p. 512.
[q] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 114.
[r] Hepheſt. in Enchirid. p. 14. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 2.
[s] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 121. p. 656. Æliar. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9 cap. 1.
[t] Schol Pind. Iſthm. 2. v. 9. Callim. Frag ap. Spanh. t. i. p. 264 et 337.
[u] Plut. an Seni. t. ii. p. 786.
[x] Stob. ſerm. 10. p. 132.



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he ſhould find a faultleſs man, he would proclaim him to the whole world [y]. This ſtrange apology was inſufficient to juſtify him in the eyes of the public, whoſe decrees invariably refuſe pardon to thoſe vices which originate more in baſeneſs than weakneſs.

Simonides died at the age of about ninety [x] *. It is recorded to his honour, that he heightened the ſplendour of the religious ceremonies in the iſle of Ceos [a], added an eighth ſtring to the lyre [b], and invented the art of artificial memory [c]; but what muſt enſure to him immortal glory, is, that he gave inſtructive leſſons to kings, and beſtowed happineſs on Sicily, by reclaiming Hiero from his extravagant projects [d], and inducing him to live in peace with his neighbours, his ſubjects, and himſelf.

The family of Simonides reſembled thoſe families in which the prieſthood of the Muſes is perpetual. His grandſon, of the ſame name, wrote on genealogies, and the diſcoveries which do honour to the human mind [e]. In Bacchylides, his nephew, he ſeemed again to revive as a lyric poet. The purity of the ſtyle of Bacchylides, the correctneſs of his manner, and the regular and connected beauties of his works [f], obtained him an applauſe of which Pindar might have been jealous [g]. Theſe two poets divided, during ſome time, the favour of king Hiero, and the ſuffrages of his courtiers; but when the royal patronage no longer prevented each from taking his true place, Pindar ſoared to the ſkies, and Bacchylides remained on the earth.

While the latter did honour to his country in Sicily, the ſophiſt Prodicus rendered it illuſtrious in the different cities

[y] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 345.
[z] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 58. Suid. in Σιμων. Lucian. in Macrob. t. iii. p. 228.
* The year 468 before J. C.
[a] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 22. p. 456.
[b] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 416.
[c] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 86. t. ii. p. 275. Id. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 32. t. ii. p. 137. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 24. t. i. p. 387.
[d] Syneſ. ad Theot. epiſt. 49. p. 187. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 2. v. 29. Elian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 15.
[e] Suid. in Σιμων.
[f] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33.
[g] Schol. Pind. in Pyth. 2. v. 175.



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of Greece [h], by reciting orations compoſed with art, and abounding in ingenious allegories, expreſſed in a ſimple, elevated, and harmonious ſtyle. His eloquence was ſhamefully venal, and deſtitute of all ſupport from the graces of voice and utterance [i]; but, as he pourtrayed virtue under a pleaſing form, he was admired by the Thebans, praiſed by the Athenians, and eſteemed by the Spartans [k]. He afterwards broached maxims deſtructive of the foundations of religion [l]; and from that moment the Athenians conſidered him as the corruptor of youth, and condemned him to drink hemlock.

Not far from Ceos is the iſland of Cythnos, famous for its paſturage [m]; and the land which you ſee ſtill nearer to us, to the weſt, is the fertile iſle of Scyros [n], in which was born one of the moſt ancient philoſophers of Greece [o]; I mean Pherecydes, who lived about two hundred years ſince [p]. He occaſioned a great revolution in the ideas and learning of his age. When a dreadful malady no longer left him any hope of recovery, Pythagoras, his diſciple, made a voyage from Italy to viſit him in his laſt moments [q].

Direct now your eyes towards the ſouth: obſerve in the horizon thoſe gloomy and fixed vapours which obſcure the dawning radiance of the day; theſe are the iſlands of Paros and Naxos.

Paros may be about three hundred ſtadia in circuit [r]*. When I tell you that it poſſeſſes fertile plains, numerous flocks [s], two excellent harbours [t], and has ſent colonies to di-

h Bayle, Dict. art. Prodicus. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 157.

i Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1. p. 496.

k Id. ibid. p. 483.

l Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 42. t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Phyſic. lib. 9. p. 552. 561. Suid. in Πρόδικ.

m Steph. in Κύθν. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 526. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 326.

n Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 15. v. 405.

o Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 116.

p Id. ibid. § 121.

q Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 242. Iambl. in Vit. Pythag. cap. 35. p. 202. Porph. Vit. Pythag. p. 3.

r Plin. lib. 4. t. i. p. 12. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 203.

* 11½ leagues.

s Tournef. ibid.

t Scylax. Peripl. Ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 22.



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ſtant countries [u], you will be able to form a general idea of the power of its inhabitants. Some particular facts will enable you to judge of their character, according to the circumſtances in which it has been diſplayed.

The city of Miletus in Ionia was diſtracted by fatal diſſenſions [x]. Among all the ſtates diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom, the people of Paros appeared to the Mileſians the moſt proper to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in their government. They ſent, therefore, for arbitrators from Paros; who, being unable to reconcile the contending factions, long exaſperated againſt each other by mutual hatred and outrages, left the city, and traverſed the country, which they found untilled and deſert, except ſome few portions of land which a ſmall number of citizens ſtill continued to cultivate. Struck with the profound tranquillity in which theſe perſons lived, they immediately placed them at the head of the government; and order and plenty were immediately reſtored to Miletus.

In the expedition of Darius, the Parians joined that monarch, and partook in the ſhame of his defeat at Marathon [y]. Obliged to take refuge in their city, they were there beſieged by Miltiades [z]. After a long defence, they demanded to capitulate; and conditions were already agreed on by both parties, when a flame was ſeen to riſe in the air on the ſide of Mycone. It was occaſioned by a wood having accidentally taken fire; but was imagined, both in the camp and the town, to be a ſignal from the Perſian fleet, to ſignify that it was haſtening to ſuccour the iſland. Under this perſuaſion, the beſieged refuſed to abide by their word, and Miltiades retired from before the place. That great man expiated, by a rigorous impriſonment, the ill ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. But the Parians were puniſhed with ſtill greater ſeverity: their perjury has been eternized by a proverb.

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[u] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487.
[x] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 28.
[y] Id. lib. 6. cap. 133.
[z] Ephor. ap. Steph. in Πάρ. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 525. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 7.

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At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, they betrayed the Greeks, by continuing in alliance with the Perſians, and the Perſians by remaining inactive. Their fleet, lying idle in the port of Cythnos, waited the iſſue of the battle, to take part with the conqueror [a]. They did not foreſee that, not to contribute to his victory, was to expoſe themſelves to his vengeance; and that a ſmall republic, placed between two great powers, who ſeek to extend their limits at the expence of each other, has frequently no reſource but to follow the torrent, and purſue glory while it weeps the loſs of its liberty. The Parians were not long before they found themſelves in this ſituation. They for a time repelled the conquerors at Salamis [b], by dint of contributions; but they at length ſunk under their yoke, almoſt without reſiſtance.

The Graces have altars at Paros. While Minos, king of Crete, was ſacrificing to theſe divinities [c], the news arrived that his ſon Androgeus was ſlain in Attica. He ended the ceremony by caſting far from him the crown which girt his brow; and, with a voice interrupted by ſighs and tears, commanded the flute-player to be ſilent. The prieſts have preſerved the remembrance of this juſt and natural grief; and when they are aſked why they have baniſhed from their ſacrifices the cuſtom of wearing crowns, and playing on inſtruments of muſic, they reply, It was thus circumſtanced, it was near this altar, that the happieſt of fathers learned the death of a ſon whom he tenderly loved, and became the moſt wretched of men.

Many cities boaſt of being the birth-place of Homer; but not one diſputes with Paros the honour or the ſhame of having produced Archilochus [d]. This poet, who lived about three hundred and fifty years ago [e], was of a diſtinguiſhed family.

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 67.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 112.
[c] Apollod. lib. 3. p. 251.
[d] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 572. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 36. 239.
[e] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 12. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 21. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 234.



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The Pythia predicted his birth, and the glory at which he was one day to arrive[f]. Prepared by this oracle, the Greeks admire in his writings the ſtrength of his language, and the elevation of his ideas[g]; they ſee him, even in his wildeſt flights, diſplay the nervous vigour of his genius[h], extend the limits of his art, and introduce new cadences into his verſes, and new beauties into muſic[i]. Archilochus has done for lyric poetry what Homer did for epic. Both have had this in common, that, in their reſpective kinds of compoſition, they have ſerved as models[k]; that their works are recited in the general aſſemblies of Greece[l]; and that their birth is celebrated alike by particular feſtivals[m]. Yet, though the public gratitude has aſſociated their names, it has not intended to confound their ranks, and only grants the ſecond place to the poet of Paros[n]; but it is indeed to have obtained the firſt, to have Homer alone for a ſuperior.

With reſpect to his morals and conduct, Archilochus merits to be claſſed among the vileſt of men. Never were more ſublime talents joined with a more vicious and depraved character. His writings are polluted with licentious language and laſcivious deſcriptions[o], and abound in that gall in which the malignity of his diſpoſition delighted[p]. His friends, his enemies, the unfortunate objects of his amours, all without diſtinction became the ſubjects of his cruel ſatire; and, what is ſtill more ſtrange, it is from himſelf that we learn theſe odious facts[q]. He has had the courage, when ſketching the hiſtory of his life, ſteadily to ſurvey all its horrors, and the inſolence to expoſe them to the view of the whole world.

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[f] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 33. p. 27.
[g] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1.
[h] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33.
[i] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1140.
[k] Vell. Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 5.
[l] Chamæl. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 620.
[m] Anthol. lib. 2. cap. 47. p. 173.
[n] Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3. Extern. No. 1.
[o] Œnom. ap. Euſeb. in Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 32, 33. Julian. imper. Frag. p. 300.
[p] Pind. Pyth. 2. v. 100.
[q] Ælian. lib. 10. cap. 13. Syneſ. de Inſomn. p. 158.

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The youthful charms of Neobule, the daughter of Lycambes, had made an impreſſion on his heart [r]. Mutual promiſes appeared to have enſured his felicity, and the concluſion of a marriage with the object of his affection, when motives of intereſt induced the fair one to give the preference to a rival. Inſtantly the poet, more irritated than afflicted, ſhook the ſnakes which the Furies had given into his hands, and poured on Neobule and her family ſuch a torrent of opprobrious ſatire, that he compelled them all to terminate, by a violent death, a life which he had empoiſoned by the virulence of his reproaches [s].

Forced by indigence to quit his country, he removed to Thaſos [t] with a colony of Parians [u]. He there found new food for his malignant fury, and the public hatred burſt forth againſt him. An opportunity to appeaſe this ſoon happened. The people of Thaſos were at war with the neighbouring ſtates. He followed the army, came in ſight of the enemy, threw away his buckler, and fled. The latter action is one of the moſt infamous of which a Greek can be guilty: but infamy only makes impreſſion on minds who merit not to ſuffer it. Archilochus openly avowed his cowardice: "I have thrown away my buckler," ſays he, in one of his works; "but I ſhall find another; and I have ſaved my life [x]."

Thus was it that he braved the reproaches of the public, becauſe his own heart was callous to every feeling of ſhame. After having been guilty of this inſult on the laws of honour, he dared to go to Lacedæmon. But what could he expect from a people who never ſeparate their admiration from their eſteem? The Spartans ſhuddered to behold him within their city; inſtantly commanded him to depart [y]; and proſcribed his writings through all the territories of their republic [z].

[r] Schol. Horat. epod. 6. v. 13.
[s] Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 271. Suid. in Αρχιλ.
[t] Ælian. lib. 10. cap. 13.
[u] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 398.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1296. Schol. ibid. Strab. lib. 12. p. 549.
[y] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[z] Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3. Extern. No. 1.

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The people assembled at the Olympic games consoled him for this mortification. He there recited, in honour of Hercules, that famous hymn, which is still sung when the glory of the victors is celebrated [a]. The whole assembly received it with loud applause; and when the judges decreed him a crown, he might have felt, that never has poetry a greater influence over the heart, than when it instructs us in our duties.

Archilochus was killed by Callondas of Naxos, whom he had long pursued. The Pythia considered his death as an insult offered to poetry: "Leave the temple," said she to his murderer; "thou hast laid violent hands on the favourite of the Muses [b]." Callondas alleged that he slew his enemy in his own defence; but the Pythia, though she was not inflexible to his prayers, commanded him to appease the irritated manes of Archilochus by libations [c]. Such was the end of a man who by his genius, vices, and impudence, was at once beheld with admiration, contempt, and dread.

Less celebrated, but more deserving esteem, than this poet, Polygnotus, Arcesilaus, and Nicanor of Paros, made considerable improvements in the art of encaustic painting [d]. Another artist, a native of this island, has acquired a reputation by a borrowed merit; I mean Agoracritus, whom Phidias took for a pupil, and whom he endeavoured in vain to raise to an equality with his rivals [e]. He gave up to him a part of his own glory, by placing on his own productions the name of his young disciple; without reflecting that the elegance of the workmanship would discover the imposture, and betray the ineffectual zeal of his friendship.

But though Paros cannot furnish artists with models, it supplies them with inexhaustible materials: the whole earth

[a] Pind. Olymp. od. 9. v. 1.
[b] Plut. de Sera Numb. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 33. p. 228.
[c] Suid. in Ἀρχίλ.
[d] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 703.
[e] Id. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 725. Suid. in Πάριος.

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is covered with monuments which derive their origin from the quarries of Mount Marpeſſus [f]. In thoſe ſubterranean caverns, illumined with a feeble light [g], a race of ſlaves laboriouſly dig forth thoſe enormous blocks which ſhine in the ſuperb edifices of Greece, and even in the front of the Egyptian labyrinth [h]. Many temples are faced with this marble, becauſe its colour, it is ſaid, is agreeable to the immortals [i]. There was a time when ſculptors made uſe of no other, and even at preſent it is in great requeſt [k]; though it does not always anſwer to their wiſh, becauſe the large cryſtalline parts, of which its texture conſiſts, lead aſtray the eye by illuſive reflections, and ſhiver under the chiſel [l]. This defect is however recompenſed by ſeveral excellent qualities, and eſpecially by its extraordinary whiteneſs [m], to which the poets make frequent alluſions, and ſuch as are ſometimes relative to the character of their poetry. "I ſhall raiſe a monument more reſplendent than the marble of Paros," ſays Pindar, ſpeaking of one of his odes [n]. "O moſt able of painters!" exclaims Anacreon; "borrow, to repreſent her whom I adore, the colours of the roſe, of milk, and of the marble of Paros [o]."

Naxos is ſeparated from the preceding iſland only by a very narrow channel. None of the Cyclades equal it in ſize, and it may diſpute with Sicily itſelf the palm of fertility [p]. Its beauty, nevertheleſs, is not immediately perceived by the traveller when he arrives at its ſhores [q]; he diſcovers only inacceſſible and deſert mountains; but theſe mountains are but barriers raiſed by nature to reſiſt the fury of the winds, and defend the plains and valleys which ſhe covers with her

[f] Steph. in Μάρ. Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 471. Serv. ibid.
[g] Plin. ibid. Athen. lib. 5. p. 205.
[h] Id. lib. 36. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 739
[i] Plat. de Leg. t. ii. lib. 12. p. 956.
[k] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 725.
[l] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 202.
[m] Anton. Itiner. p. 528. Horat. lib. 1. od. 19. v. 6.
[n] Pind. Nem. Od. 4. v. 131.
[o] Anacr. Od. 28. v. 27.
[p] Agathem. lib. 1. c. 5. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 16. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 212.
[q] Tournef. Voyag. p. 213.

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treaſures [r]. There ſhe diſplays all her magnificence; inexhauſtible ſources of the pureſt waters aſſume a thouſand different forms, and the flocks ſtray amid the abundant herbage of the verdant meads. There, not far from the delightful banks of the Biblinus [s], ripen thoſe exquiſite figs with which Bacchus made the inhabitants of the iſland acquainted, and thoſe famous grapes the wine of which is preferred to almoſt every other. Pomegranates, almond trees [t], and olives, multiply without difficulty in the plains, which are annually covered with abundant harveſts. A multitude of ſlaves are continually employed in gathering theſe treaſures [u], and innumerable veſſels in tranſporting them to diſtant countries.

Notwithſtanding their riches, the inhabitants are brave, generous, and extremely jealous of their liberty. Two centuries paſt, their republic was at the ſummit of its greatneſs, and could bring eight thouſand men into the field [x]. They had the glory to reſiſt the Perſians before they were ſubjected by them [y]; and to ſhake off their yoke when they projected the conqueſt of all Greece [z]. Their ſea and land forces joined thoſe of the Greeks, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battles of Salamis and Platæa; but at the ſame time taught the Athenians that they muſt no longer ſuffer a power to increaſe, which was already capable of rendering them ſuch ſignal ſervices. Accordingly, when the latter people, in contempt of all treaties, had reſolved to ſubjugate their ancient allies, they made their firſt attack on the people of Naxos [a], whom they only left in poſſeſſion of their feſtivals and games.

At theſe Bacchus preſides: Bacchus is the protector of Naxos; and every thing there preſents us with the image of the favour of the god and the gratitude of the people. The

[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Etymol. Magn. in Βίβλινος.
[t] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 52.
[u] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 31.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 30.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 325.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98. 137.

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inhabitants eagerly ſhow to ſtrangers the place where he was nurſed by the Nymphs [b], and relate the prodigies he has wrought in their behalf. From him proceed the riches they enjoy, and to him alone their altars ſmoke day and night. Here their adoration is addreſſed to the god who taught them to cultivate the fig-tree [c]; and there to the divinity who infuſes into their grapes a nectar he has brought down from heaven [d]. They worſhip him under various titles, to multiply the duties which are dear to them.

At no great diſtance from Paros are Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos. To obtain an idea of the former of theſe iſlands [e], imagine a number of ſteep and barren mountains, in the intervals of which are deep gulfs, where a wretched race of men continually behold, ſuſpended over their heads, fearful rocks, the monuments of the vengeance of Perſeus; for, according to a ridiculous, but, to the inhabitants of Seriphos, terrible tradition, that hero, armed with the head of Meduſa, formerly changed their anceſtors into theſe dreadful objects [f].

At a ſmall diſtance from this iſland, imagine, beneath a ſky continually ſerene, meads enamelled with flowers, and plains perpetually productive of fruits; and you will have a feeble image of the beauties of Siphnos [g]. The pure air of this enchanting country prolongs the life of man beyond its ordinary limits. It was formerly the richeſt among all the Cyclades [h]. Its mines annually produced to the inhabitants an immenſe tribute in gold and ſilver, a tenth part of which they conſecrated to Apollo at Delphi; and their offerings conſtituted one of the richeſt treaſures of that temple. The fury of the ſea has ſince deſtroyed the ſources of their wealth; their opulence has vaniſhed, and nothing now remains to

[b] Diod. Sic lib. 5. p. 325.
[c] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 78.
[d] Archil. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 30.
[e] Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 21. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 602. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p 179.
[f] Strab. lib. 10. p. 487. Pherec. apud Schol. Apoll. Rhod. l. 4. v. 1515.
[g] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 172.
[h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 57.

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them but the regret of its loſs, and the vices of which it was productive [l].

The iſland of Melos is one of the moſt fertile in the Ægean ſea [k]. Sulphur and other minerals, contained in the bowels of the earth, maintain in it an active warmth, and give an exquiſite taſte to its productions.

The people who inhabit it had been independent during ſeveral centuries, when, in the time of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenians propoſed to them to break the neutrality they obſerved with reſpect to Athens and Lacedæmon, from the latter of which cities they derived their origin [l]. Irritated at their refuſal, they repeatedly attacked them, and at length fell upon them with all the forces of the republic [m]. The iſland was conquered; but the ſhame reſted with the conquerors, who began the war unjuſtly, and concluded it by an act of barbarity. The vanquiſhed were carried into Attica; where, by the advice of Alcibiades, all thoſe who were able to bear arms were put to death [n]. The remainder groaned in chains till the army of Lacedæmon compelled the Athenians to ſend them back to Melos [o].

A philoſopher, a native of this iſland, having been a witneſs to the calamities it had ſuffered, indignantly avowed the opinion, that the wretched, having no longer any thing to hope from men, no longer owe a reverence to the gods. This philoſopher was Diagoras, to whom the Mantineans are indebted for the laws and the happineſs they enjoy [p]. His ardent imagination, after having prompted him to the wild flights of dithyrambic poetry, impreſſed him with a ſervile fear towards the gods. The worſhip he paid them was loaded with a multitude of ſuperſtitious ceremonies [q]; and he traverſed Greece to obtain initiation into all the myſteries. But

[l] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 823. Heſych. et Suid. in Διφιάζ. Steph. in Σίφν.

[k] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 145.

[l] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 84.

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 85. &c.

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 116. Strab. lib. 10. p. 484. Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 199.

[o] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 441.

[p] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 23.

[q] Sext. Empir. Adv. Phyſ. lib. 9. p. 561.

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his philoſophy, which was proof againſt all the irregularities and diſorders of the natural world, ſunk beneath an act of injuſtice of which he was himſelf the victim. One of his friends refuſed to reſtore to him a depoſit with which he had intruſted him, and vindicated his refuſal by an oath, which he took in the preſence of the altars [r]. The ſilence of the gods with regard to ſo flagrant a perjury, together with the cruelties exerciſed by the Athenians in the iſle of Melos, aſtoniſhed the philoſopher, and hurried him from the fanaticiſm of ſuperſtition into that of atheiſm. He irritated the prieſts by divulging, in his diſcourſes and his writings, the ſecrets of the myſteries [s]; the people by breaking the ſtatues of the gods [t] *; and all Greece by publicly denying their exiſtence [u]. A general clamour was raiſed againſt him, and his very name became a term of reproach [x]. The magiſtrates of Athens cited him before their tribunal, and purſued him from city to city [y]. A talent was promiſed to any one who ſhould bring his head, and two talents if he were brought alive; and to perpetuate the memory of this decree, it was engraven on a brazen column [z]. Diagoras finding no place of refuge in Greece, embarked on board a veſſel, and periſhed by ſhipwreck [a].

The eye, when it ſurveys a meadow, perceives not the noxious plant that intermingles its poiſon amid the flowers, nor the modeſt flower which conceals itſelf beneath the herbage. Thus, in deſcribing the iſlands which form a circle

[r] Heſych. Illuſtr. in Διαγόρ. p. 11. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 828.

[s] Lyſias in Andoc. p. 111. Tatian. Orat. adv. Græc. p. 95. Suid. in Διαγόρ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1073.

[t] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 828. Athenag. in Legat. p. 38. Clem. Alex. in Cohort. ad Gent. p. 21.

* One day, in an inn, finding no other wood, he laid a ſtatue of Hercules on the fire; and, alluding to the twelve labours of the hero, "There ſtill remains," cried he, "a thirteenth labour for your godſhip to complete, which is to make my dinner boil." (Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 828.)

[u] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 416. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 182.

[x] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 828.

[y] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 323.

[z] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1073. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Διαγόρ. Joſeph. in Appian. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 493.

[a] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 9. p. 611.

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round Delos, it is not neceſſary that I ſhould ſpeak of the rocks ſcattered in the intervals between them, nor of ſeveral ſmaller iſlands, which ſerve only to add an ornament to the ground of the picture which is preſented to your view.

Their inhabitants are ſeparated by the ſea, but united by pleaſure. They have feſtivals which are common to them, and which aſſemble them together ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another; but theſe ceaſe the moment our ſolemnities commence. Thus, according to Homer [b], the gods ſuſpend their profound deliberations, and ariſe from their thrones, when Apollo appears in the midſt of them. The neighbouring temples are about to be deſerted; the divinities there adored permit the incenſe deſtined to them to be conveyed to Delos. Solemn deputations, known by the name of *Theoriæ*, are charged with this illuſtrious commiſſion. They bring with them choruſes of boys and maidens, who are the triumph of beauty, and the principal ornaments of our feſtivals. They repair hither from the coaſts of Aſia, the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, the continent of Greece, and the moſt diſtant countries [c]. They arrive to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, to the voice of pleaſure, and with all the pomp that taſte and magnificence can furniſh. The veſſels which bring them are covered with flowers; chaplets of flowers are worn by the mariners and pilots; and their joy is the more expreſſive, as they conſider it as a religious duty to forget every care by which it may be deſtroyed or abated [d].

As Philocles ended, the ſcene every moment changed, and continually received new embelliſhments. The ſmall fleets which bring the offerings to Delos had already left the ports of Mycone and Rhenea, and other fleets appeared at a diſtance. An infinite number of veſſels of every kind flew over

[b] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 4.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104. Callim. in Del. v. 279. Pauſan. lib. 4. p. 287.
[d] Spanh. in Hymn. in Del. p. 488.

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the ſurface of the ſea, reſplendent with a thouſand different colours. They were ſeen to iſſue from the channels which ſeparate the iſlands, croſs, purſue, and join each other. A freſh gale played in their purple ſails; and the waves beneath their oars were covered with a foam, which reflected the rays of the riſing ſun.

At the foot of the mountain, an immenſe multitude overſpread the plain. The crowds of people advanced, and fell back, with a motion reſembling that of a field of corn when agitated by the wind; and the tranſports of joy by which they were animated, produced a vague and confuſed ſound, that ſeemed to float, if I may ſo ſpeak, over that vaſt body.

While we ſurveyed this ſcene, which excited in us emotions not to be deſcribed, clouds of ſmoke covered the ſummit of the temple, and aroſe into the air. The feſtival is begun, ſaid Philocles; the incenſe burns on the altar: and immediately, in the city, and in the plain, we heard a thouſand voices exclaim, The feſtival is begun; let us haſten to the temple.

In the temple we found the maidens of Delos, crowned with flowers, habited in reſplendent robes, and adorned with all the charms of youth and beauty. Iſmene, at their head, executed the dance of the misfortunes of Latona [c], and exhibited to our eyes what ſhe had ſung to us the day before.

Her companions accompanied her motions with the ſound of their voices and their lyres: but theſe no one heard; even they themſelves ſuſpended their ſong to admire Iſmene.

Sometimes ſhe fled from the anger of Juno, and then ſhe ſeemed only to ſkim the ground: at other times ſhe remained motionleſs; and this reſt painted ſtill more expreſſively the anguiſh of her ſoul.

[c] Lucian. de Salt. t. ii. p. 291.



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Theagenes, in the character of Mars, was by his menaces to drive Latona from the banks of the Peneus. But when he beheld Iſmene at his feet, in a ſuppliant poſture, he could only turn away his eyes; while Iſmene, powerfully affected by even this appearance of ſeverity, fainted away in the arms of her attendants.

All preſent were greatly affected; but the order of the ceremonies was not interrupted. At the ſame moment was heard a chorus of boys, who, from their freſhneſs and reſplendent beauty, might have been taken for the ſons of Aurora. While they ſang a hymn in honour of Diana, the maidens of Delos executed lively and agile dances [f]. The muſic which regulated their ſteps, inſpired them with a delicious intoxication: they held garlands of flowers, and placed them with a trembling hand on an ancient ſtatue of Venus, which Ariadne had brought from Crete, and Theſeus dedicated in this temple [g].

Other concerts alſo reached our ears: theſe were the ſongs and muſic of the Theoriæ of the iſles of Rhenea and Mycone, who waited, under the portico, the moment when they might be admitted into the ſacred place. We ſaw them, and imagined that we beheld the Hours and Seaſons attending at the gate of the palace of the Sun.

We alſo ſaw the Theoriæ of Ceos and Andros land on the beach. It might have been ſaid, at ſight of them, that the Loves and Graces were come to eſtabliſh their empire in one of the fortunate iſlands.

From every ſide arrived ſolemn deputations, who made the air reſound with ſacred ſongs [h]. They marſhalled on the beach the order of their proceſſion, and ſlowly advanced towards the temple, in the midſt of the acclamations of the multitude who thronged around them. With their homage they

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[f] Callim. in Del. v. 303.
[g] Id. ibid. v. 306. Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 793. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 9.
[h] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 535.

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preſented to the god the firſt fruits of their country [i]; and theſe ceremonies, like all thoſe practiſed at Delos, were accompanied by dances, ſongs, and ſymphonies [k]. On coming out of the temple, the Theoriæ were conducted to houſes ſupported at the expence of the cities whoſe offerings they bronght [l].

The moſt diſtinguiſhed poets of our time have compoſed hymns for this feſtival: but their ſucceſs has not diminiſhed the glory of the great men who had celebrated it before them. We ſeemed to be in the preſence of their genii. Here were heard the harmonious ſongs of Olen of Lycia, one of the firſt who conſecrated poetry to the worſhip of the gods [m]; there the gentle accents of Simonides [n]; and there the ſeducing notes of Bacchylides [o], or the impetuous tranſports of Pindar [p]; while, in the midſt of this ſublime harmony, the lofty ſtrains of Homer inſpired univerſal reverence [q].

In the mean time, the Theoria of the Athenians was perceived at a diſtance. A number of light veſſels ſeemed to ſport round the ſacred galley, like the daughters of Nereus, when they follow the car of the ſovereign of the ſeas. Their ſails, whiter than ſnow, ſhone like the ſwans which wave their wings on the waters of the Cayſter and Mæander. At ſight of them, ſome old men, who had with difficulty come down to the beach, regretted their youthful days, when Nicias, the general of the Athenians, was appointed to conduct the Theoria. He did not proceed with it, ſaid they to us, immediately to Delos; but brought it ſecretly to the iſle of Rhenea, which you ſee before you [r]. The whole night was employed in erecting over the channel between the two iſlands, a bridge, the materials of which, prepared long before, and

[i] Callim. in Del. v. 278.
[k] Lucian. de Salt. t. ii. p. 277.
[l] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 35.
[m] Id. ibid. Callim. in Del. v. 305. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 27. p. 762.
[n] Suid. in Σιμωνίδ.
[o] Schol. Callim. in Del. v. 28.
[p] Pindar. Iſthm. 1. v. 4. Id. ap. Philon. de Mund. Incorr. p. 960.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104.
[r] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525.



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richly gilt and painted, only required to be joined together. It was nearly four ſtadia * in length, covered with ſuperb carpets, and ornamented with garlands; and on the day following, at early dawn, the Theoria croſſed the ſea, not like the army of Xerxes, to ravage and lay waſte nations, but bringing to them pleaſures in its train; and, that they might taſte the firſt fruits of theſe, it remained long ſuſpended over the waves, chanting ſacred ſongs, and delighting all eyes with a glorious ſpectacle which the ſun will never again behold.

The deputation which we ſaw arrive had been almoſt entirely choſen from among the moſt ancient families of the republic [s]. It was compoſed of ſeveral citizens, who took the title of Theori †; of two choruſes of boys and maidens [t], to ſing hymns and perform dances; of certain magiſtrates, appointed to collect the tributes, and provide whatever may be neceſſary for the Theoria [u]; and ten inſpectors, choſen by lot, who preſide at the ſacrifices [x]: for the Athenians have uſurped the ſuperintendence of theſe; and it is in vain that the prieſts and magiſtrates of Delos urge their claim to rights which they are not in a condition to ſupport by force [y].

This Theoria appeared with all that ſplendour [z] which might be expected from a city in which luxury is exceſſive. When it came before the god, it made an offering to him of a crown of gold, of the value of fifteen hundred drachmas [a] ‡; and ſoon after was heard the bellowing of a hundred oxen [b], that fell beneath the ſacred ſteel. This ſacrifice was followed by a dance, in which the young Athenians repreſented the

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* About 378 toiſes (3 furlongs and 145 yards).

[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 87.

† The Theorus was a ſacred ambaſſador appointed to offer ſacrifices in the name of a city (Suid in Θεωρ).

[t] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58. Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.

[u] Tayl. Marm. Sand. p. 50.

[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 107. p. 927. Etymol. in Ἱεροποιοί. Valeſ. in Harpocr. et Mauſſ. Not. p. 132.

[y] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 495. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii p. 230.

[z] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.

[a] Marm. Sand. et Not. Tayl. p. 66.

‡ 1350 livres (56l. 10s.)

[b] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 57. Tayl. in Marm. Sand. p. 35. Corſin. Diſſert. in Marm. Sand. p. 123. Id. Diſſert. 6. in Append. ad Not. Græc.



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motion and wanderings of the iſland of Delos, while it was driven at the pleaſure of the winds over the liquid plains of the ſea [c]. Scarcely was this ended when the Delian youth joined them, to figure the windings of the labyrinth of Crete, in imitation of Theſeus, who, after his victory over the Minotaur, had performed this dance near the altar [d].

Thoſe who moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe dances were rewarded with tripods of the value of a thouſand drachmas [e] *, which they conſecrated to the god; and their names were proclaimed by two heralds [f], who came in the train of the Theoria.

The whole expence to the republic for the prizes diſtributed to the conquerors, the preſents and ſacrifices offered to the god, and the conveyance and maintenance of the Theoria, amounts to more than four talents [g]. The temple poſſeſſes, in the iſlands of Rhenea and Delos, and in the continent of Greece, woods, houſes, copper manufactures, and baths, which have been bequeathed to it by the piety of the people. This is the firſt ſource of its riches; the ſecond is the intereſt of the ſums which ariſe from theſe different poſſeſſions, and which, after having been collected in the treaſury of the Artemiſium [h], are placed out to uſe, either to individuals or the neighbouring cities [i]. The principal and intereſt, added to the fines for the crime of impiety, which are always applied to the uſe of the temple, amount, at the end of four years, to about twenty talents †, which it is the office of the three amphictyons, or treaſurers, appointed by the ſenate of Athens, to collect, and from which they take a certain ſum to defray a part of the expences of the Theoria [k] ‡.

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[c] Lucian. de Salt. t. ii. p. 291.
[d] Callim. in Del. v. 312. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 9. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 14. § 101. p. 407.
[e] Marm. Sand. et Not. Tayl. p. 68.
* 900 livres (37l. 10s.)
[f] Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 61. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 234.
[g] Marm. Sand.
[h] Append. ad Marm. Oxon. No. clv. p. 54.
[i] Marm. Sand.
† About 108,000 livres (4500 l.)
[k] Id. ibid.
‡ See note at the end of the volume.



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When the ſacred proceſſion had completed the ceremonies for which it had repaired to the altars, we were conducted to an entertainment given by the ſenate of Delos to the citizens of the iſland [l], who were ſeated promiſcuouſly on the banks of the Inopus, and under trees which formed a kind of arbours over their heads. The whole company, devoted to pleaſure, appeared deſirous to expreſs their joy in a thouſand different ways, and to communicate to us the impreſſions which rendered them happy. A pure and univerſal ſatisfaction reigned; and all celebrated with loud ſhouts the name of Nicias, who had firſt aſſembled the people in thoſe delightful ſcenes, and aſſigned a certain fund to perpetuate his benefaction.

The remainder of the day was appropriated to exhibitions of another kind. Exquiſite voices diſputed with each other the prize of harmony [m]; and combatants, armed with the ceſtus, that of wreſtling [n]. Boxing, leaping, and foot-racing, ſucceſſively engaged our attention. Towards the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, a ſtadium had been traced out, a round which were ranged the deputies of Athens, the ſenate of Delos, and all the Theoriæ, habited in their ſuperb robes. Theſe beauteous youths preſented a faithful image of the gods aſſembled on Olympus.

Impetuous courſers, guided by Theagenes and his competitors, entered the liſts [o], of which they ſeveral times made the circuit, and long diſputed the victory; till, as when the god of day, after having diſengaged his chariot from the clouds, rapidly haſtens to the weſt, Theagenes darted like lightning through the midſt of his rivals, and reached the goal at the ſame inſtant that the ſun terminated his career. He was crowned in the preſence of a multitude of ſpectators, who had haſtened from the neighbouring eminences, in the preſence of almoſt all the beauties of Greece, and in the preſence of Iſmene,

[l] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 525.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104.
[n] Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. v. 149.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 104.

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whoſe looks of complacence gave him greater pleaſure than thoſe of men and gods.

On the day following, the birth of Apollo was celebrated [p]*. Among the dances performed on this occaſion, we ſaw a number of ſailors dance round an altar, which they laſhed violently with whips [q]. After this extraordinary ceremony, the myſtic ſenſe of which we were unable to penetrate, other dances ſucceeded, intended to repreſent the ſports which amuſed the god in his infancy. Thoſe who danced had their hands bound behind them, and were to bite the bark of an olive tree, conſecrated by religion. Their frequent falls and irregular ſteps occaſioned among the ſpectators violent burſts of laughter, which appeared indecent; but we were told that this mirth was not conſidered as irreverent, or an offence againſt the majeſty of the ſacred ceremonies. In fact, the Greeks are perſuaded that they cannot too much baniſh, from the adoration they render to the gods, all ſadneſs and melancholy [r]; and hence it is that, in ſome places [s], men and women are permitted to attack each other, in the preſence of the altars, with the moſt licentious and groſs pleaſantries.

The ſailors I have mentioned above, were among the number of thoſe foreign merchants whom the ſituation of the iſland, the privileges it enjoys, the vigilant attention of the Athenians, and the celebrity of the feſtivals, bring in crowds to Delos [t]; whither they come to exchange their reſpective riches for the corn, wine, and commodities of the neighbouring iſlands; for the ſcarlet linen tunics, which are made in the iſle of Amorgos [u], the rich purple ſtuffs of Cos [x], the highly eſteemed alum of Melos [y], and the valuable copper that

[p] Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 2.

* The 7th of the month Thargelion, which correſponded to the 9th of May.

[q] Callim. in Del. v. 321. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Δαλὸ. Spanh. in Callim. t. ii. p. 520.

[r] Spanh. in Callim. t. ii. p. 521.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap 27. p. 596.

[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 486.

[u] Heſych. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἄμοργ. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 526. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 233.

[x] Horat. lib. 4. od. 13.

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 293. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 714. Tournef. t. i. p. 156.



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from time immemorial has been extracted from the mines of Delos, and of which are made elegant vaſes [z]. The iſland was become as it were the ſtorehouſe of the treaſures of nations; and near the place where they were collected, the inhabitants of Delos, obliged by an expreſs law to furniſh water to the whole multitude of ſtrangers [a], ſet out, on long tables, cakes, and eatables prepared in haſte *.

I ſtudied with pleaſure the different paſſions which opulence and neceſſity produced in places ſo little diſtant from each other; and was convinced that, to an attentive mind, no objects in nature are trivial. The Delians firſt diſcovered the ſecret of fattening fowls, and derive a conſiderable profit from their induſtry [b]. I ſaw ſome perſons, mounted on ſtages, who ſhowed the people eggs that they held in their hands, and diſtinguiſhed by their form the kind of pullets by which they had been laid [c]. I had ſcarcely turned my eyes on this ſingular ſcene, when I felt myſelf forcibly ſhook by a vigorous arm; and, looking round, was accoſted by an Athenian ſophiſt, with whom I was ſlightly acquainted.—How! ſaid he, Anacharſis, are theſe objects worthy the attention of a philoſopher? Come with me, and no longer waſte on ſuch trifles your time, which ought to be devoted to more ſublime ſpeculations. He immediately took me to an eminence, where ſome other ſophiſts diſcuſſed, with great heat, the ſubtle queſtions of the ſchool of Megara [d]. The impetuous Eubulides of Miletus was at their head, and had juſt advanced this argument: "Whatever is at Megara, is not at Athens: but there are men at Megara, therefore there are not men at Athens [e]." While the by-ſtanders wearied themſelves in vain to reſolve

[z] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 640. Cicer. Orat. pro Roſc. Amer. cap. 46. t. iv. p. 91.

[a] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 173.

* It appears, from Athenæus, that, during the feſtivals of Delos, they expoſed in the market, lamb, pork, fiſh, and cakes, in which they mixed cummin, a kind of grain reſembling the ſeeds of fennel.

[b] Plin. lib. 10. cap. 50. t. i. p. 571. Colomel. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 8. cap. 2. Varr. de Re Ruſt. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 9.

[c] Cicer. in Lucull. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 26; cap. 26. p. 36.

[d] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 106.

[e] Id. ibid. § 107. Id. in Chryſ. lib. 7. § 187.

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this difficulty, a ſudden ſhout announced the arrival of the Theoria of the Tenians, who, beſides their own offerings, brought alſo thoſe of the Hyperboreans.

The latter people dwell towards the north of Greece [f]: they eſpecially pay adoration to Apollo; and there is ſtill to be ſeen at Delos the tomb of two of his prieſteſſes, who came thither to add new rites to the worſhip of that god. They alſo preſerve there, in an edifice dedicated to Diana, the aſhes of the laſt Theori, whom the Hyperboreans ſent to their iſland [g]. They unfortunately periſhed; and, ſince that event, that nation has ſent the firſt fruits of their harveſts through a foreign channel. A neighbouring tribe of the Scythians receive them from their hands, and tranſmit them to other nations, who convey them to the ſhores of the Adriatic ſea, from whence they are carried to Epirus, croſs Greece, arrive at Eubœa, and are brought to Tenos [h].

On the arrival of theſe ſacred offerings, nothing was talked of but the wonders that are related of the country of the Hyperboreans: there the ſpring, youth, and health, perpetually reign; and there, during ten complete centuries, men enjoy a tranquil life, in the midſt of feſtivals and pleaſures [i]. But this happy country is ſituated at one of the extremities of the earth, as the garden of the Heſperides is at the other. Thus have men ever placed the abode of happineſs in inacceſſible regions.

While the Greeks liſtened to theſe fictions, which enkindled all the ardour of their imagination, I was attentive to that foreſt of maſts which appeared in the port of Delos. The fleets of the Theoriæ preſented their prows to the ſhore, and theſe prows art had decorated with the ſymbols peculiar to each nation. Thoſe of the Phthiotes were diſtinguiſhed by

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[f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 113. 127; t. xviii. Hiſt. p. 192.

[g] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 35.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 33. Callim. in Del. v. 283.

[i] Pind. Pyth. od. 10. v. 63. Id. et Simonid. ap. Strab. lib. 15. p. 711. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 219.

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the figures of Nereides. On the Athenian galley, Pallas was repreſented guiding a reſplendent car; and the ſhips of the Bœotians were ornamented with an image of Cadmus holding a ſerpent [k]. Some of theſe fleets were getting under ſail; but the beauteous youths they carried back to their country were ſoon replaced by new beauties. Thus, in the courſe of a long and ſerene night, ſome ſtars are loſt in the weſt, while others riſe in the eaſt to repleniſh the ſkies.

The feſtivals laſted ſeveral days; the horſe-races were frequently repeated. On the beach we ſaw the famous divers of Delos [l] plunge into the ſea, remain beneath its waves, float on its ſurface, diſplay the image of combats, and juſtify, by their addreſs, the celebrity they have acquired.

## CHAP. LXXVII.

### Continuation of the Voyage to Delos.

*Marriage Ceremonies.*

LOVE preſided at the feſtivals of Delos; and the numerous youth which the god had aſſembled around him, acknowledged no other laws than his. Sometimes, in concert with Hymen, he crowned the conſtancy of faithful lovers; ſometimes he excited a tender languor and anxiety in hearts before inſenſible; and by theſe multiplied triumphs prepared the way for the moſt glorious of all—the marriage of Iſmene and Theagenes.

As I was a witneſs to the ceremonies with which this union was accompanied, I ſhall proceed to relate them, and deſcribe practices which the laws, cuſtom, and ſuperſtition have introduced, to provide for the ſecurity and happineſs of the moſt ſacred of engagements: and if, in this account, ſome apparently

[k] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 240.
[l] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 22. Id. lib. 9. § 11. Suid. in Δῆλ.

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frivolous circumſtances ſhould be found, they will acquire importance and dignity from the ſimplicity of the times from which they derive their origin.

Silence and tranquillity began to be reſtored at Delos. The multitude of ſtrangers diminiſhed like a river, which, after having overflowed the plain, gradually retires into its bed. The inhabitants of the iſland had riſen before the dawn; they were crowned with flowers, and inceſſantly offered up, in the temples, and before their houſes, ſacrifices to render the gods propitious to the marriage of Iſmene [m]. The moment when it was to be concluded was arrived. We were aſſembled in the houſe of Philocles: the door of the apartment of Iſmene opened, and we ſaw her and Theagenes come out of it, followed by their parents, and a public officer [n], who had juſt drawn up the inſtrument of their engagement. The conditions of this engagement were ſimple; in it no proviſion had been made for any diſcuſſion of intereſt between their relatives, nor any cauſe of divorce between the contracting parties: and, with reſpect to the marriage portion, as Theagenes was already related to Philocles, it was thought ſufficient to mention a law of Solon's, which, to prevent the property of a family from being carried out of it, enacts, that heireſſes ſhall marry their neareſt kinſmen.

We were dreſſed in magnificent habits, which we had received from Iſmene [o]. That which Theagenes wore was her own work. Her ornaments were, a necklace of precious ſtones, and a purple robe embroidered with gold. Both wore on their hair, which flowed on their ſhoulders, and was perfumed with eſſences [p], crowns of poppy, ſeſamum, and other plants ſacred to Venus [q]. Thus habited, they mounted a

[m] Charit. de Chær. et Callir. Amor. lib. 3. p. 44.
[n] Theod. Prodr. de Rhod. et Doſicl. Amor. lib. 3. p. 450.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 529. Schol. ib. in Av. v. 671. Achill. Tat. l. 2. p. 85.
[p] Ariſtoph. in Plut. ibid.
[q] Euripid. in Iphig. in Aul. v. 903. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 869; in Av. v. 159. Schol. ibid.

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chariot [r], and proceeded towards the temple. Iſmene had Theagenes on her right, and on her left a friend of Theagenes, who was to follow him in this ceremony [s]. The people who thronged around them ſcattered flowers and perfumes in their way [t]. They cried out, Theſe are not mortals; it is Apollo and Coronis; it is Diana and Endymion; it is Apollo and Diana. They ſought to procure us favourable omens, and to prevent ſuch as were of evil portent. One ſaid, I ſaw this morning two turtles long hover in the air, and at length reſt together on a branch of that tree. Another ſaid, Drive away the ſolitary crow, and let her go far hence to mourn the loſs of her faithful companion; for ſhe brings the moſt ill-boding of auguries [u].

The bride and bridegroom were received at the gate of the temple by a prieſt, who preſented to each of them a branch of ivy, the ſymbol of the bonds by which they were to be forever united [x]. He then conducted them to the altar, where every thing was prepared for the ſacrifice of a heifer to Diana [y], to the chaſte Diana, whom, as well as Minerva [z], and the other divinities who had never ſubmitted to the yoke of Hymen, they thus endeavoured to appeaſe. They alſo implored Jupiter and Juno, whoſe union and loves ſhall be eternal [a]; the Heavens and the Earth, the concurrence of which produces fertility and plenty [b]; the Parcæ, becauſe they hold in their hands the life of mortals [c]; the Graces, becauſe they embelliſh the pleaſures of happy marriages; and, laſtly, Ve-

[r] Euripid. in Helen. v. 728. Suid. in Ζεῦγος. Lucian. de Conv. t. iii. p. 450.

[s] Suid. ibid Poll. lib. 10. cap. 7. § 33. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 652. lin. 45.

[t] Charit. de Chœr. et Call. Amor. lib. 3. p. 44.

[u] Ælian de Animal. lib. 3. cap. 9. Orus Apoll. Hieroglyph. 8.

[x] Theod. Prodr. de Rhod. et Dofic. Amor. lib. 9. p. 422.

[y] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1110.

[z] Potter. Archæol. Græc. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. 610

[a] Ariſtoph in Thermoph. v. 982. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 3. Suid. in Τελεία.

[b] Procl. in Tim. lib. 5. p. 293, lin. 26.

[c] Poll. lib. 3. cap. 3.

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nus, from whom Love derives his birth, and who beſtows happineſs on mortals [d].

The prieſts, after having examined the entrails of the victims, declared that the gods approved the marriage. To conclude the ceremonies, we proceeded to the Artemiſium, where the lovers depoſited each a lock of their hair on the tomb of the laſt Theori of the Hyperboreans. That of Theagenes was wound about a handful of graſs, and that of Iſmene round a ſpindle [e]. This cuſtom reminded them of the firſt inſtitution of marriage, at which time it was intended to ſignify that the huſband was to be occupied in the labours of the field, and the wife to manage the houſehold affairs.

Philocles now took the hand of Theagenes, and, joining it to the hand of Iſmene, pronounced theſe words: "I beſtow on you my daughter, that you may give legitimate citizens to the republic [f]." The bride and bridegroom then ſwore to each other an inviolable fidelity; and their parents, after having received their oaths, ratified them by new ſacrifices [g].

Night began to come on when we came out of the temple to return to the houſe of Theagenes. The proceſſion, lighted by numberleſs torches, was accompanied by bands of muſicians and dancers [h]; the houſe was hung with garlands, and ſplendidly illuminated [i].

As ſoon as the new married couple ſet their feet on the threſhold of the door, a baſket of fruit was, for a moment, placed on their heads [k], as a preſage of the plenty they were to enjoy. We at the ſame time heard the name of Hymenæus re-echoed on all ſides [l]. This was a young man of Argos, who formerly reſtored to their country ſome Athenian maidens who had been taken by pirates. He obtained for his reward

[d] Etymol. Magn. in Γαμηλ.
[e] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 34. Callim. in Del v. 296.
[f] Menander. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. p. 502.
[g] Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 3. cap. 1.
[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 491. Heſiod. Scut. Herc. v. 275. Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 915. Id. in Helen. v. 728.
[i] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 6. p. 278.
[k] Pierr. Grav. de Stoſch. planch. 70.
[l] Homer. ibid. Anacr. od. 18. Callim. in Del. v. 296.

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one of the captives, of whom he was paſſionately enamoured; and ſince that time the Greeks contract no marriage without celebrating his memory [m].

Theſe acclamations followed us into the banqueting hall, and continued during the ſupper; when ſome poets entered, and recited epithalamiums.

A child, half covered with branches of hawthorn and oak, appeared with a baſket of loaves, and ſang a hymn beginning with theſe words: "I have changed my former ſtate for a happier [n]." The Athenians ſing this hymn at one of their feſtivals, to celebrate the time in which their anceſtors, who had before fed on wild fruits, enjoyed in ſociety the gifts of Ceres. They ſing it likewiſe at marriages, to ſignify that men, after having left their wild ſtate in the woods, enjoyed the ſweets of love. Female dancers, dreſſed in light robes, and crowned with myrtle, afterwards entered, and expreſſed by their motions, the tranſports, tender languor, and intoxication of the moſt delicious of paſſions.

When this dance was ended, Leucippe lighted the nuptial torch [o], and conducted her daughter to the apartment prepared for her. A number of ſymbols reminded Iſmene of the duties which were formerly annexed to the new condition of life on which ſhe entered. She carried one of thoſe earthen veſſels in which barley is parched [p]; one of her attendants held a ſieve; and over the door was hung an inſtrument uſed to bruiſe grain [q]. The new married couple ate of a fruit, the ſweetneſs of which was conſidered as the emblem of their union [r].

In the mean time, giving a looſe to the tranſports of an immoderate joy, we raiſed tumultuous ſhouts, and beſieged the door, which was defended by a faithful friend of Thea-

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. 9. p. 307.
[n] Heſych. et Suid. in Ἔφυγον.
[o] Euripid in Iphig. in Aul. v. 732. Id. in Phœniſſ. v. 346.
[p] Poll. lib. 1. cap. 12. § 246.
[q] Id. lib. 3. cap. 3. § 37.
[r] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 89. Id. in Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 138.



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genes [s]. A number of young perſons danced to the muſic of ſeveral inſtruments. This noiſe was at length interrupted by the Theoria from Corinth, who had undertaken to ſing the evening hymeneal. After having congratulated Theagenes, they added [t]:

"We are in the ſpring of our years; we are the faireſt of "the maidens of Corinth, ſo renowned for their beauty [u]: "yet is there not one of us, O Iſmene! whoſe charms can "compare to thine [x]. Lighter than the Theſſalian courſer, "exalted above her companions like the lily, the pride of "the garden, Iſmene is the ornament of Greece. All the "loves are enthroned in her eyes, and all the arts live under "her fingers. O maid! O charming woman! to-morrow "will we repair to the enamelled mead, and cull flowers, to "compoſe for thee a crown: we will hang it on the moſt "beautiful of the neighbouring plane trees, under the ſhade "of which we will pour forth perfumes in thy honour, and "on its bark we will inſcribe theſe words: *Offer to me your "incenſe, for I am the tree of Iſmene.* We ſalute thee, happy "bride! we ſalute thee, happy bridegroom. May Latona "give you ſons who ſhall reſemble you. May Venus ever "animate you with her fires. May Jupiter beſtow on your "children's children the felicity which ſurrounds you. Re-"poſe in the boſom of pleaſure, and henceforth breathe only "the moſt tender love. We will return with the morning's "dawn, and again will we ſing: O Hymen, Hymenæus, "Hymen!"

The next day, as ſoon as it was light, we repaired to the ſame place, and heard the maidens of Corinth ſing the following hymeneal [y].

"We celebrate you in our ſongs, O Venus, ornament of "Olympus! Love, the delight of the earth! and thou, O

[s] Poll. ibid.
[t] Theocr. Idyll. 18.
[u] Anacr. Od. 32.
[x] Theocr. ibid.
[y] Theod. Prodr. Amor. p. 465.

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"Hymen, ſource of life! we celebrate you in our ſong, Love, "Hymen, Venus! O Theagenes, awake; turn your eyes "on your love. Youthful favourite of Venus, happy and "worthy huſband of Iſmene; O Theagenes! awake; turn "your eyes on your ſpouſe; ſurvey the ſplendour of her "beauty, the animated freſhneſs which embelliſhes all her "charms. The roſe is the queen of flowers, Iſmene is the "queen of beauties.—Already her trembling eyelid opens "to the rays of the ſun. O Theagenes! happy and worthy "huſband of Iſmene, awake!"

This day, which the two lovers conſidered as that on which they began to live, was almoſt entirely employed, on their part, in receiving the affectionate congratulations of the inhabitants of the iſland on their marriage. All their friends might make them preſents: they alſo made preſents to each other; and received, in conjunction, thoſe of Philocles, the father of Theagenes. They were brought with great ceremony. A child, in a white robe, opened the proceſſion, bearing a lighted torch; next came a girl, with a baſket on her head: ſhe was followed by ſeveral domeſtics, who carried veſſels of alabaſter, boxes of perfumes, different kinds of eſſences [z], odorous ointments [a], and a variety of thoſe luxuries which a taſte for convenience and elegance has converted into neceſſaries.

In the evening, Iſmene was carried back to her father; and, leſs in conformity with cuſtom than to expreſs her real ſentiments, teſtified to him the regret ſhe felt at leaving her paternal houſe: the next day ſhe was reſtored to her huſband; and, from that moment, nothing has interrupted their mutual felicity.

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[z] Harpocr. in Ἀρώμαλ.
[a] Heſych. et Suid. in Ἐναύλ. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 24. t. ii. p. 1337. lin. 44.

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## CHAP. LXXVIII.

### CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE TO DELOS.

*On Happineſs.*

PHILOCLES, with a heart of the greateſt ſenſibility, poſſeſſed an exquiſite judgment and extenſive knowledge. In his youth he had frequented the ſchools of the moſt celebrated philoſophers of Greece; and, improved by their leſſons, but ſtill more by his own reflection, he had compoſed a ſyſtem of conduct which diffuſed tranquillity through his own ſoul, and promoted peace and ſatisfaction among all around him. We inceſſantly ſtudied this ſingular man, to whom each moment of his life was a moment of happineſs.

One day, as we wandered about the iſland, we met with this inſcription, on a little temple of Latona, "*Nothing is more excellent than juſtice, more to be deſired than health, or more delightful than the poſſeſſion of the object we love.*" This, ſaid I, is the maxim which Ariſtotle once cenſured in our hearing: he alleged that the epithets contained in it ought not to be ſeparated, and that they are only applicable to happineſs [b]. And, in fact, happineſs is certainly what is moſt excellent, moſt to be deſired, and moſt delightful. But to what purpoſe is it to deſcribe its effects? It would be of much greater importance to diſcover how it may be obtained. That, replied Philocles, is little known; for, to arrive at it, all men chooſe different paths, and all differ in opinion reſpecting the nature of the ſovereign good. Sometimes they make it conſiſt in the enjoyment of every pleaſure, and ſometimes in the exemption from every pain [c]. Some have endeavoured to compriſe its characteriſtics in ſhort maxims: ſuch is the ſen-

[b] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 11. Id. Eudum. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 195.

[c] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 180. Democr. ap. Laert. lib. 9. § 45. Id. ap. Stob. ſerm. 1. p. 4.



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tence you have juſt read; and ſuch the ſong which is frequently ſung at table, and in which happineſs is made to conſiſt in health, beauty, riches lawfully acquired, and youth enjoyed in the boſom of friendſhip [d]. Others, beſides theſe precious gifts, require ſtrength of body, courage, juſtice, prudence, temperance, and, in a word, the poſſeſſion of every good and every virtue [e] *. But as the greater part of theſe advantages do not depend on ourſelves, and as we ſhould not even find every wiſh precluded by their union, it is manifeſt that they do not eſſentially conſtitute that ſpecies of felicity which is adapted to each man in particular.

In what then does happineſs conſiſt? impatiently exclaimed one of our company. How wretched is the lot of mortals, if, inceſſantly compelled to purſue happineſs, they are ignorant of the path they ought to chooſe!—Alas, replied Philocles, they are ſurely much to be pitied. Caſt your eyes around you; in every place, in every condition of life, you will hear only complaints and lamentations, and only behold men tormented with the deſire of happineſs, and by paſſions which prevent their attaining it; unſatisfied by pleaſure, without fortitude under ſufferings, almoſt equally oppreſſed by diſappointment and enjoyment, inceſſantly murmuring at their lot, and unable to quit a life the burden of which they find inſupportable.

Was it, then, merely to cover the earth with miſerable creatures, that the human race was created? and do the gods take a cruel pleaſure in perſecuting ſuch a feeble race of beings as we are? To this I can never aſſent: our reproaches are due to ourſelves alone. Let us inquire what idea we entertain of happineſs. Is it not that of a ſtate, in which

[d] Plat. in Georg. t. i. p. 451. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 574. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 14. p. 694. Stob. ſerm. 101. p. 552.

[e] Ap. Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 661. Ap. Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 522.

* Plutarch mentions one Scopas of Theſſaly, who made happineſs conſiſt in ſuperfluity. (In Cat. t. i. p. 346, E.)



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our desires, perpetually reviving, shall be continually satiated; which shall be diversified according to the difference of inclinations, and the duration of which it shall be in our power to prolong at pleasure[f]? But the eternal order of nature must be changed before such a state can be the lot of any mortal. Thus, to desire happiness which shall be unchangeable, and without any mixture of alloy, is to desire what cannot exist; but what, for that very reason, more excites our wishes, since nothing appears to us more desirable, than to triumph over obstacles which are, or which appear, insurmountable.

Invariable laws, too profound for our feeble researches to explain, decree that good shall be uninterruptedly mingled with evil, in the general system of nature; and that the beings which make a part of this great whole, which, as a whole, is so admirable, but so incomprehensible, and sometimes so terrifying, in its parts, shall partake of this mixture, and experience continual vicissitudes. On this condition has life been bestowed on us. From the moment in which we receive it we are condemned to a continual alternation of good and evil, pleasures and pains. If you inquire the reason of this our unhappy lot, some will perhaps answer, that the gods intend to bestow on us real good, and not pleasures; that they only grant us the latter to compel us to receive the former; and that, to the greater part of mortals, the sum total of good would be infinitely greater than that of evil, if they were wise enough to refer to the former the agreeable sensations they experience, and the moments they enjoy which are exempt from trouble and disquietude. Such a system may sometimes suspend our murmurs, but the cause of them will ever remain; for, in fact, pain and misery exist on earth, and consume the days of the greater part of men; and even though only one single mortal should suffer, and though he should suf-

[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2 t. ii. p. 661.



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fer but for a ſingle moment during his whole life, ſtill that moment of pain would be to us the moſt incomprehenſible and diſtreſſing of myſteries.

What then is the reſult of theſe reflections? Ought we to plunge blindly into the torrent which hurries away and inſenſibly deſtroys all beings; to preſent ourſelves without reſiſtance, and as victims of fatality, to the evils by which we are menaced; and to renounce, in fine, that hope which is the greateſt, and even the only good the greater part of our fellow-mortals can experience? Certainly not. I wiſh that you ſhould be happy, but ſo far only as it is permitted you to be. I wiſh you not that chimerical happineſs the hope of which is the ſource of the miſery of the human race, but a happineſs ſuited to our preſent condition, and the more ſolid, ſince it is in our power to render it independent of men and of events.

The attainment of this is ſometimes facilitated by the natural diſpoſition; and we may even ſay, that certain minds are only happy becauſe they were born happy. Others cannot ſtruggle at once againſt their diſpoſition and external obſtacles, without long and unintermitted application of mind; for, ſaid an ancient philoſopher, "the gods ſell us happineſs for labour, which is its price[5]." But this mental labour requires not more efforts than the projects and exertion by which we are inceſſantly agitated; and which, after all, have only for their object an imaginary happineſs.

Philocles, having thus ſpoken, remained ſilent. He had not, he ſaid, ſufficient leiſure, nor ſufficient abilities, to reduce into a ſyſtem the obſervations he had made on ſo important a ſubject. Deign at leaſt, ſaid Philotas, to communicate to us, without too ſcrupulouſly regarding order or connection, thoſe which may accidentally ſuggeſt themſelves to you. Condeſcend to inform us by what means you have at-

[5] Epicharm. ap. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737.

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tained to this ſtate, at which you cannot have arrived but after a long ſucceſſion of experiments and errors.

O Philocles! exclaimed the youth Lyſis; the zephyrs ſeem to ſport among the branches of this plane tree, the air is filled with the odours of the flowers that haſten to diſcloſe their beauties, theſe vines begin to entwine their tender branches around the myrtles which they will quit no more; the flocks that bound in the meadows, the birds that chant their loves, the inſtruments that reſound through the valleys, all things that I ſee and hear, fill me with delight and tranſport. Ah, Philocles! we were created for happineſs: I feel that we were, in the delicious and heartfelt emotions which I experience. If you are acquainted with the art of perpetuating theſe, it is a crime to conceal it from us under the veil of myſtery.

You remind me, replied Philocles, of the early years of my life. I ſtill regret the time when, like you, I reſigned myſelf with enthuſiaſm to the impreſſions I received. Nature, to which I was yet unaccuſtomed, appeared to my eyes arrayed in indeſcribable charms; and my ſoul, new to every pleaſurable ſenſation, ſeemed ardently alive to the moſt delicious ſenſibility.

I was yet unacquainted with men, and imagined I found in their words and actions that innocence and ſimplicity which reigned in my own heart. I believed them all juſt, ſincere, capable of friendſhip, what they ought to be, and what I in reality was. Above all, I believed that they were humane; for experience is eſpecially neceſſary to convince us that they are not ſo.

Under this deluſion I entered into the world. The politeneſs for which the ſocieties of Athens are diſtinguiſhed, the expreſſions which the deſire of pleaſing inſpires [h], thoſe effuſions of the heart which coſt ſo little and flatter ſo much—

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 642.



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all theſe deceitful externals had but too many charms for a man who had not yet proved their real worth. I met ſeduction half way; and, attributing to agreeable connections the ſentiments and claims of friendſhip, gave myſelf up without reſerve to the pleaſure of loving and being beloved. The pretended friends I thus made choice of, without a prudent examination, occaſioned me much injury, and abandoned me, ſome from intereſt, and others from jealouſy and fickleneſs. The ſurpriſe and grief I felt, forced my eyes to overflow with tears. At length, having experienced every kind of injuſtice and perfidy, I ſaw myſelf conſtrained, after repeated ſtruggles, to renounce that confidence ſo dear to my heart, which I had indiſcriminately repoſed in all mankind [i]. This ſacrifice coſt me more than any other I made in my life; I ſtill ſhudder at the remembrance of it: ſo violent were my feelings, that they hurried me into the oppoſite extreme [k]. I hardened my heart, cheriſhed diſtruſt and hatred with a kind of ſavage pleaſure, and lived a wretched life. At length I called to mind that, among the multitude of opinions that are entertained concerning the nature of happineſs, ſome who are held in greater eſteem for their wiſdom than others, teach that it conſiſts in pleaſure, or in the practice of virtue, and the exerciſe of an enlightened reaſon [l]. I determined, therefore, to ſeek mine in pleaſure.

I ſhall ſuppreſs the particulars of the extravagance of my youth, to haſten to the moment that brought them to a period. Being in Sicily, I went to viſit one of the principal inhabitants of Syracuſe, who was ſpoken of as the happieſt man of his time. His appearance ſhocked me; though he was yet in the prime of life, he had every appearance of decrepitude. He was ſurrounded by muſicians, who wearied him with celebrating his virtues; and beautiful female ſlaves,

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[i] Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 564.

[k] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 89.

[l] Ariſtot. Eudem. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 195.

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who by their dances kindled in his eyes, at intervals, a gloomy and dying fire. When we were alone, I ſaid to him, I congratulate you: you have diſcovered the rare ſecret of perpetually retaining with you pleaſure, who, though ſo fugitive to others, is with you a conſtant gueſt.—Pleaſure a conſtant gueſt with me! replied he, in a rage; I know it not: I ſuffer all the deſpair which the abſence of it occaſions. This is the only ſentiment which remains with me, and which will ſoon complete the deſtruction of a body overwhelmed with pain and evils. I endeavoured to inſpire him with fortitude; but I found that his mind was degraded and brutiſh, without principles, and without reſources. I afterwards learned that he had never bluſhed at the acts of injuſtice he had committed, and that he every day waſted the fortune of his children with fooliſh profuſion.

The example of this man, and the diſguſt which I on different occaſions experienced, delivered me from the intoxication in which I had for ſome years lived, and determined me to ſeek tranquillity in the practice of virtue, and the exerciſe of my reaſon. I cultivated both with ardour; but I was again on the point of going to the oppoſite extreme. The too great auſterity of my virtue ſometimes filled me with indignation againſt ſociety; and, from a too rigid attachment to what I eſteemed reaſon, I was inclined to eſteem all objects as indifferent. An accidental event freed me from both theſe errors.

I became acquainted, at Thebes, with a diſciple of Socrates, whoſe probity I had heard much extolled. I was ſtruck with the ſublimity of his principles, as well as with the regularity of his conduct. But he had gradually introduced ſo much ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm into the virtue he inculcated, that he might be reproached with permitting in himſelf no frailty, nor allowing any indulgence for others. He became peeviſh, ſuſpicious, and often unjuſt; the qualities of his heart were eſteemed, but his company was generally avoided.



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A ſhort time after, being at Delphi, at the celebration of the Pythian games, I perceived, in a gloomy alley, a man who had the reputation of being a perſon of great knowledge and intelligence. He appeared to me overwhelmed with chagrin. I have diſſipated, ſaid he to me, by the exertions of reaſon, the illuſion of all things in life. I was born with all the advantages that can flatter vanity; but, inſtead of enjoying them, I wiſhed to analyſe them; and, from that moment, riches, birth, and perſonal graces, appeared to me only as vain titles, which chance had diſtributed among men. I attained to the firſt offices of magiſtracy in the republic; but was diſguſted with the difficulty I found in doing good, and the eaſe with which it was in my power to do miſchief. I ſought glory in battle, and dyed my hands in the blood of the unfortunate, till I ſhuddered at my barbarous fury. I cultivated the ſciences and arts: Philoſophy filled me with doubts; I found in eloquence only the perfidious art of deceiving men; and in poetry, muſic, and painting, only the puerile arts of amuſing them. I aſpired to obtain the eſteem of the public; but, ſeeing around me a multitude of hypocrites, who, by their pretences to virtue, ſecured its applauſe without danger of detection, I grew careleſs of the public and its eſteem. Nothing was now left me but a life deprived of every charm, actuated by no motive, and which was only a tedious repetition of the ſame actions and the ſame wants.

Wearied of my exiſtence, I travelled into diſtant countries. The pyramids of Egypt, at the firſt view, filled me with aſtoniſhment; but, immediately after, I compared the pride of the monarchs who had erected them to that of a piſmire who ſhould heap up ſome grains of ſand in a pathway, to leave to poſterity ſome traces of his paſſage. The great king of Perſia gave me a place at his court, and his ſubjects fell proſtrate at my feet. Their exceſſive meanneſs only ſhowed me the exceſs of their ingratitude. I returned to my country, neither admiring nor eſteeming any thing; and, by a ſa-

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tal conſequence, no longer capable of loving any thing. When I became ſenſible of my error, it was no longer in my power to remedy it: but, though I do not feel a very lively affection for my fellow men, I wiſh my example may prove a leſſon to you; for from you I have nothing to fear, ſince I have never been ſo unfortunate as to render you any ſervice. When I was in Egypt, I was acquainted with a prieſt, who, after having paſſed his life in gloomy reſearches, endeavouring to penetrate the origin and end of all things, ſaid to me, with a ſigh, Woe to him who ſhall attempt to lift up the veil of nature! And I will ſay, Woe to the man who ſhall draw aſide the veil of ſociety! woe to him who ſhall refuſe to yield to that theatrical illuſion which our prejudices and neceſſities have diffuſed over all objects! Soon ſhall his ſoul, enfeebled and languiſhing, find itſelf plunged in the abyſs of nihility, the moſt dreadful of all puniſhments. At theſe words, tears fell from his eyes, and he haſtened to conceal himſelf in the neighbouring foreſt.

You know with what precaution veſſels ſhun thoſe rocks which have occaſioned the ſhipwreck of the firſt navigators. Thus, in my travels, I endeavoured to derive advantage from the errors of my fellow mortals. From them I learned, what I might have been taught by the leaſt reflection, but what can never be properly known but by experience—that the exceſs of reaſon and virtue is almoſt as dangerous as exceſs in pleaſures [m]; that nature has given us propenſities which it is as dangerous to extinguiſh as to exhauſt by inordinate gratification; that ſociety had claims to my ſervices, and that I ought to labour to acquire its eſteem; in fine, that, to arrive at this deſirable end, which inceſſantly ſhowed itſelf and fled before me, it was my duty to calm that inquietude which I felt in my ſoul, and which continually drew it out of itſelf.

[m] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 19.

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I had never ſtudied the ſymptoms of this inquietude. I perceived that, in animals, it was limited to the preſervation of life, and the propagation of the ſpecies; but that in man it ſubſiſted after ſatisfying of the firſt deſires, and that among enlightened nations it was more powerful and tyrannical than among ignorant people. It is therefore the luxury of thoughts and deſires that poiſons our exiſtence; it is that inſatiable luxury that is tormented in idleneſs; that, to maintain itſelf, feeds on our paſſions, and irritates them inceſſantly, though it gathers from them only diſagreeable fruits. But why ſhould we not furniſh it with more ſalutary aliments? Why ſhould we not conſider that agitation which we experience even in the ſatiety of pleaſures and enjoyments, as a motion impreſſed by nature on our hearts, to force them to approach each other, and find their tranquillity in mutual union?

O humanity! ſublime and generous inclination! which announceſt thyſelf in our infancy by the tranſports of tenderneſs and ſimplicity; in youth, by the temerity of a blind confidence; and through the whole courſe of our lives, by the readineſs with which we contract new connections! O voice of Nature, which reſoundeſt from one end of the univerſe to the other, which filleſt us with remorſe when we oppreſs our fellow creatures, and inſpireſt us with the pureſt pleaſure when we adminiſter to them comfort! O Love! O Friendſhip! O Beneficence! inexhauſtible ſources of delicious pleaſures: men are only unhappy becauſe they refuſe to liſten to you. O ye gods, authors of theſe moſt valuable benefits! inſtinct might, no doubt, by bringing together beings overwhelmed with wants and evils, have afforded a tranſient ſupport to their weakneſs: but infinite goodneſs like yours could alone have formed the plan of uniting us by the charm of ſentiment; and diffuſing over thoſe extenſive aſſociations which cover the earth, a warmth capable of eternizing their duration.

Yet, inſtead of cheriſhing this ſacred fire, we ſuffer frivolous diſſenſions and mean intereſt continually to damp its

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ſlame. If we ſhould be told that two ſtrangers, caſt by chance on a deſert iſland, had found in the ſociety of each other a pleaſure which indemnified them for being ſecluded from the reſt of the world; if we ſhould be told that there exiſts a family entirely occupied in ſtrengthening the ties of conſanguinity by the bonds of friendſhip; if we ſhould be told that there exiſts, in ſome corner of the earth, a people who know no other law than that of loving each other, nor any other crime than that of being wanting in mutual affection; who would think of commiſerating the lot of the two ſhipwrecked friends? who would not wiſh to appertain to that family? who would not deſire to fly to that happy climate? O mortals, ignorant and unworthy of your deſtiny! to obtain happineſs, it is not neceſſary to croſs the ſeas; it may be found in all conditions of life, at all times, in all places, within yourſelves, around you, and wherever you mutually love.

This law of nature, too much diſregarded by our philoſophers, was not neglected by the legiſlator of a powerful nation. Xenophon, ſpeaking to me on a certain occaſion of the education of the Perſian youth, told me that, in their public ſchools, a tribunal was inſtituted before which they came mutually to accuſe each other of their faults; and that ingratitude was puniſhed by it with the utmoſt ſeverity. He added, that under the name of *ungrateful*, the Perſians included all thoſe who were guilty of offences towards the gods, their relatives, their country, or their friends [a]. This law is admirable; ſince it not only enjoins the practice of all our duties, but likewiſe renders them amiable by aſcending to their origin. In fact, if they cannot be tranſgreſſed without our becoming ungrateful, it follows, that it is our duty to fulfil them from a motive of gratitude; and thence reſults this noble and beneficial principle, that we ought only to act from ſentiment.

[a] Xenoph. de Inſtit. p. 4.

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But this doctrine is not to be held forth to thoſe who, hurried away by violent paſſions, acknowledge no reſtraint; nor to thoſe frigid minds who, concentred in themſelves, feel only their own perſonal griefs. The former are to be pitied; they are made more for the happineſs of others than their own. We might perhaps be tempted to envy the lot of the latter; for, if we could join with fortune and health a profound indifference for our fellow-creatures, which yet ſhould be diſguiſed under the appearance of regard, we ſhould obtain a happineſs founded alone on the moderate pleaſures of ſenſe, and which perhaps would be leſs ſubject to cruel viciſſitudes. But does it depend on ourſelves to be indifferent? If we had been deſtined to live in ſolitude on Mount Caucaſus, or in the deſerts of Africa, perhaps Nature would not have given us a heart of ſenſibility; but, had ſhe beſtowed it on us, rather than not have loved, we ſhould have endeavoured to fix our affection, and exerciſe our benevolence, on tigers and on ſtones.

We are therefore enforced to ſubmit to our deſtiny; and, ſince our heart requires to be expanded, far from ſeeking to confine it within itſelf, let us increaſe, if poſſible, the warmth and activity of its motions; and, by giving them a proper direction, prevent its wanderings.

I do not propoſe my example as a rule; but you have wiſhed to be informed of the ſyſtem of my life. It was by ſtudying the law of the Perſians; by drawing cloſer and cloſer the ties which unite us with the gods, our relatives, our country, and our friends; that I have found the ſecret of at once fulfilling the duties of my condition, and ſatisfying the deſires of my ſoul. Thus alſo was it that I learned, that the more we live for others, the more we live for ourſelves [o].

Philocles then enlarged on the neceſſity of calling to the aid of our reaſon and virtue an authority that may ſupport their

[o] Plat. epiſt. 9. t. iii. p. 358.



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weakneſs. He ſhowed to what a degree of power the ſoul may raiſe itſelf; which, conſidering all the events of life as ſo many laws that have emanated from the greateſt and wiſeſt of legiſlators, is obliged to ſtruggle either againſt misfortune or proſperity. You will be uſeful to men, added he, if your piety be only the fruit of reflection; but if you are ſo happy as to have it become a ſentiment, you will feel a more delightful pleaſure in the good you ſhall do unto them, and more conſolation under the injuſtice they may make you ſuffer.

He was continuing to explain theſe truths, when he was interrupted by a Cretan youth, one of our friends, named Demophon, who had for ſome time aſſumed the title of Philoſopher. He ſuddenly joined us; and inveighed againſt religious opinions with ſo much heat and contempt, that Philocles thought it incumbent on him to endeavour to bring him to a juſter manner of thinking. But I ſhall reſerve that part of the converſation in which this ſubject was diſcuſſed for the following chapter.

The ancient wiſdom of nations, reſumed Philocles, has, if I may ſo ſpeak, confounded among the objects of public worſhip, both the gods, the authors of our exiſtence, and our parents from whom we derive life. Our duties with regard to both are cloſely connected in the codes of legiſlators, the writings of philoſophers, and the uſages of nations.

Hence that ſacred cuſtom of the Piſidians, who at their repaſts begin with libations in honour of their parents [p]; and hence that beautiful thought of Plato—If the Divinity accepts the incenſe which you offer to the ſtatues by which he is repreſented, how much more venerable, both in his eyes and yours, muſt thoſe monuments of him appear that he has preſerved in your houſes; that father, that mother, thoſe anceſtors, formerly the living images of his authority, and now the objects of his ſpecial protection [q]! Doubt it not; he will

[p] Stob. Serm. 42. p. 292.

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. t. ii. p. 931.

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bestow his favour on those who honour them, and punish those who neglect or insult them[r]. Do they act unjustly by you; before you make public your complaints, recollect the observation of the sage Pittacus to a young man who had commenced a prosecution against his father—"If you are in the wrong, you will be condemned; and if you are in the right, you deserve to be so[s]."

But it surely cannot be necessary to insist on the reverence we owe to our parents; I shall rather choose to point out to your attention the powerful charm which nature has annexed to the inclinations necessary to our happiness.

In infancy, when all is simplicity, because all is truth, the love of our parents and relatives is expressed in transports, which become indeed enfeebled when the taste for pleasures and independence insinuates itself into our souls; but the principle which produced them is with difficulty extinguished. Even in those families in which it is confined to a certain degree of respect, it manifests itself by signs of indulgence or attention, which it is believed all who are united by the ties of blood owe to each other; and by returns of friendship, which the least opportunities may facilitate: it is also apparent even in those which are torn by cruel dissensions; for family hatreds only become so violent, because they are the effect of confidence betrayed, or love disappointed in its hopes[t]. For which reason it is not solely by the representation of impetuous and irregular passions, that tragedy seeks to excite our emotions; she frequently exhibits to us struggles of affection between relatives suffering under misfortune; and these scenes never fail to draw tears from those who are most capable of hearing and understanding the voice of Nature.

I render thanks to the gods that my daughter has always listened to this mild and persuasive voice. I render thanks

[r] Ap. Stob. Serm. 77. p. 454, &c.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 456.
[t] Aristot. lib. 7. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 433.

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to them, that I have always borrowed its accents when I have wiſhed to inſtruct her in her duties; that I have ever ſhown myſelf to her as a ſincere, compaſſionate, and incorruptible friend, more intereſted than herſelf in her benefit and improvement, and eſpecially unimpeachably juſt. It is the latter quality that has produced the greateſt effect on her mind. When Iſmene perceived that I, in ſome meaſure, ſubmitted to her dawning reaſon the deciſions of my own judgment, ſhe learned to cheriſh a proper eſteem for herſelf; and became confirmed in the opinion that my age and experience had given her of the ſuperiority of my diſcernment and knowledge. Inſtead of claiming her affection as a duty, I endeavoured to merit it; and carefully avoided imitating the conduct of thoſe fathers and benefactors, who, by the haughtineſs with which they require grateful acknowledgment, excite ingratitude.

I have obſerved the ſame conduct towards Leucippe her mother. I have never ſo relied on the conſciouſneſs of the affection I entertain for her in my heart, as to neglect thoſe attentions by which it is manifeſted. When I firſt knew her, I wiſhed to pleaſe her; and when I became more intimately acquainted with her, I ſtill wiſhed to pleaſe. When our union firſt took place, ſhe bluſhed to exerciſe in my houſe the authority which the care of a family rendered it neceſſary ſhe ſhould exert[u]; ſhe now cheriſhes it, becauſe ſhe has received it from my hand: ſo delightful is it to depend on the object we love, to ſuffer ourſelves to be guided by it, and to ſacrifice to it all our inclinations. Theſe ſacrifices, which we mutually make, diffuſe an inexpreſſible charm over all our enjoyments; when they are perceived, they have received their reward; and when they are not, they appear ſtill more delicious.

A ſucceſſion of uſeful and varied occupations employ our time, and our days glide away in uninterrupted tranquillity. We enjoy in peace the happineſs that reigns around us; and

[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 840.

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the only regret I experience is, that I am no longer able to render to my country the services that I have rendered it in my youth.

To love our country * is to exert our utmost powers to render it formidable abroad, and to preserve it in peace at home. Victories or advantageous treaties acquire it the respect of foreign nations [x]; the maintenance of the laws and of manners can alone ensure internal tranquillity: while, therefore, we oppose the enemies of the state with generals and able negociators, we must also oppose licentiousness and vice, which tend to destroy every thing, by the laws and by virtue, which can alone restore what these have corrupted; and hence those numerous duties which are equally essential and indispensible to each class of citizens, and each citizen individually.

O you who are the object of these reflections! you for whose sake I now regret that I possess not sufficient eloquence to address you in a style equal to my subject, on truths, the force of which I strongly feel! you, in fine, in whose breasts I would wish to enkindle every praise-worthy affection, because you would thereby become more happy—ever remember that your country has unlimited and sacred claims to your talents, your virtues, your sentiments, and your actions; that, whatever your condition may be, you are only soldiers on guard, whose duty it is to watch, and fly to the assistance of your country when menaced by the smallest danger.

To acquit yourselves of a duty so exalted, it is not sufficient that you discharge with integrity and fidelity the employments she may confide to you, that you defend her laws, discern and promote her interests, nor even that you shed your

* The Greeks employed every expression of tenderness to signify the society of which each of us makes a part. In general they called it *patris*, a word derived from *pater*, which in Greek signifies father. The Cretans named it *matris*, from the word which signifies mother. (Plat. de Rep. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 575, D. Plut. an Seni, t. ii. p. 792, E.) It appears that in certain places it was called by the name of *nurse*. (Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 130).

[x] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813.

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blood in the field of battle or the forum. She has an enemy more dangerous than the leagues of nations, or inteſtine diſſenſions, in that ſlow and ſecret, but violent and continued war, which the vices wage againſt manners; a war the more to be dreaded, as ſhe poſſeſſes not in herſelf any means of avoiding or ſupporting it. Suffer me to put in her mouth the language which, on this ſubject, ſhe has a right to addreſs to her children [y].

You have here received life, and wiſe inſtitutions have here nurtured and brought to maturity your reaſon. My laws watch over the ſafety of the meaneſt of the citizens; and you have all taken an oath, either tacit or expreſs, to dedicate your lives to my ſervice. Such are my rights. What are yours to propagate corruption of manners, which are a more ſolid foundation of my empire than the laws? Are you ignorant that they cannot be violated, without introducing a deſtructive poiſon into the ſtate; and that a ſingle example of diſſolute manners may corrupt a nation, and become more fatal to it than the loſs of a battle? You would reſpect public decency, if courage were neceſſary for you to brave it; but the oſtentation with which you diſplay exceſſes that remain unpuniſhed, is a cowardice equally contemptible and inſolent.

Yet you dare to appropriate to yourſelves my glory; and aſſume conſequence in the preſence of ſtrangers [z], becauſe you were born in that city which has produced Solon and Ariſtides, and are deſcended from thoſe heroes who have ſo often rendered my arms triumphant. But what relation is there between theſe ſages and you? What have you in common with your anceſtors? Who are the countrymen and children of thoſe great men? All virtuous citizens, in whatever condition of life, or after whatever interval of time, they may be born [a].

[y] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 50.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 95.
[a] Iphicr. ap. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 576.



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Happy would their country be, if to the virtues by which ſhe is honoured, they did not join an inert lenity which conduces to her deſtruction! Liſten to my voice, in your turn, you who from age to age perpetuate the race of men precious to humanity. I have enacted laws againſt crimes, but I have inſtituted none againſt vices; becauſe my vengeance can only be committed to you, and you alone can purſue them with determined hatred [b]. Far, therefore, from keeping ſilence, your indignation ſhould burſt in a torrent on that licentiouſneſs by which manners are deſtroyed; on thoſe acts of violence, injuſtice, and perfidy, which eſcape the vigilance of the laws; on falſe probity, falſe modeſty, falſe friendſhip, and all thoſe vile impoſtures which ſurreptitiouſly obtain the eſteem of men. And ſay not that the times are changed, and that it is neceſſary to pay reſpect to the rank and influence of the offenders: a virtue deſtitute of energy, is a virtue without principle; the moment it no longer ſhudders at the ſight of vice, it is polluted by its contagion.

Think with what ardour you would be animated, ſhould you be told that the enemy has taken arms, that he has advanced to your frontiers, that he is at your gates; yet is he now in the midſt of you, in the ſenate, in the aſſemblies of the nation, in the tribunals, nay, in your own houſes. His progreſs is ſo rapid, that, unleſs the gods or virtuous citizens arreſt his courſe, all hope of reformation and ſafety muſt ſoon be loſt [c].

If we properly felt theſe reproaches, ſociety, which by our exceſſive compliance has become a field abandoned to tigers and ſerpents, might ſtill be rendered the abode of peace and happineſs. But let us not flatter ourſelves with the hope of ſeeing ſuch a change. Many citizens have virtues, but nothing is ſo rare as a virtuous man; becauſe, to be ſuch in reality, we muſt poſſeſs the courage to be virtuous at all

b Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 334. Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 487 et 497.
c Id. ibid. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 473. Id.

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times, in all circumſtances, in defiance of all obſtacles, and in contempt of the moſt powerful temptations of intereſt.

But if virtuous minds cannot join in an aſſociation againſt falſe and wicked men, let them at leaſt unite in favour of the good; let them eſpecially become animated by that ſpirit of humanity which exiſts in nature, and which it is time to reſtore to ſociety, from which it has been baniſhed by our prejudices and paſſions. That will teach us not to be continually at war with each other, not to confound levity of mind with wickedneſs of heart, to pardon failings, and to baniſh prejudice and diſtruſt, the fatal ſources of ſo many diſſenſions and enmities; that will alſo teach us, that beneficence is leſs diſplayed by ſplendid liberalities, than by the ſentiment which intereſts us in the misfortunes of the wretched.

You every day ſee citizens who groan under calamity, and others who need only a word of conſolation, and a friend who will ſympathize with them in their ſufferings: yet you aſk whether you can be uſeful to your fellow mortals; yet you aſk whether nature has beſtowed on us compenſations for the evils with which ſhe has afflicted us. Ah, did you know the delight ſhe diffuſes through thoſe ſouls which obey her inſpirations! If ever you ſhould ſnatch a worthy man from indigence, from diſhonour, from death; I call to witneſs the emotions you will experience: you will then be convinced that life affords moments of delicious ſenſibility, which may counterbalance whole years of grief and pain. Then ſhall you pity thoſe who ſhall be alarmed at your ſucceſs, or who ſhall forget it after having benefited by it. Fear not the envious, they ſhall find their puniſhment in their own malignity; for envy is a ruſt which eats into iron[d]. Fear not the preſence of the ungrateful; they ſhall ſhun you, or rather they ſhall ſeek you, if the benefit they have received from you has been accompanied by eſteem and profit; for, if you have abuſed the ſuperiority it gave you, you are culpable, and thoſe who

[d] Menand. Carcin. et Periand. ap. Stob. Serm. 38. p. 222 et 225.



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have received your favours are only to be pitied. He who confers a favour ought to forget it, and he on whom it is conferred ever to remember it [e]; and I will venture to affirm, that the latter will remember it if the former forgets it. Yet of what conſequence is it, ſhould I be miſtaken? ought we to do good from intereſt?

Avoid, at once, too eaſily accepting favours, and mortifying thoſe on whom you have conferred them. Perſevere in rendering ſervice to others, without requiring any thing in return, ſometimes in deſpite of themſelves, and as often as you can without their knowledge [f]; making little account of what you do for them, but annexing the higheſt value to what they do for you [g].

Enlightened philoſophers, after long and frequent meditation, have concluded, that happineſs being all action, all energy, can only be found in a ſoul whoſe emotions, directed by reaſon and virtue, are ſolely dedicated to public utility [h]. Conformably to their opinion, I ſay that the ties which connect us with the gods, our relatives, and our country, are only a chain of duties which it is our intereſt to animate with ſentiment, and which nature has provided for us to exerciſe and appeaſe the activity of our ſouls. In fulfilling them with ardour conſiſts that wiſdom, of which, according to Plato, we ſhould be paſſionately enamoured, if its beauty were revealed to our eyes [i]. Of what an exalted nature is this love! it never ſhall end: our taſte for the ſciences, the arts, or for pleaſure, inſenſibly decays; but how can the ſoul be ſatiated, which, converting into a habit the virtues uſeful to ſociety, renders them neceſſary to it, and every day finds a new pleaſure in their practice?

Believe not that its happineſs terminates with the delicious ſenſations which flow from the diſcharge of theſe duties: it

[e] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 517.
[f] Iſocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 31.
[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 729.
[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 9, E. Id. lib. 10. cap. 6. p. 136; cap. 7, 8, &c. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 150. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 428. D.
[i] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 250.

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has other ſources of felicity, no leſs abundant and no leſs durable. Such is the public eſteem[k]; that eſteem which we cannot neglect to aſpire to, without confeſſing that we are unworthy of it; which is due only to virtue, on which, ſooner or later it is beſtowed, and which it indemnifies for all the ſacrifices it has made, and every reverſe of fortune it may have experienced. Such alſo is our own eſteem, the nobleſt of the privileges granted to human nature, the pureſt paſſion of the virtuous ſoul, and the livelieſt deſire of the ſoul of ſenſibility, without which we cannot be the friends of ourſelves, and with which we may diſregard the approbation of others, ſhould they be ſo unjuſt as to refuſe it to us. Such, laſtly, is that ſentiment which is the ornament and comfort of life, and of which it remains for me to ſpeak.

I ſhall continue to declare to you common truths; but, if they were not ſuch, they would be but of little utility to you.

In one of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, in the midſt of ſome ancient poplars, an altar was formerly dedicated to Friendſhip. Day and night aſcended from it a pure incenſe, grateful to the goddeſs. But ſoon it was ſurrounded by mercenary worſhippers, in whoſe hearts ſhe beheld only intereſted and ill-aſſorted connections. One day ſhe ſaid to a favourite of Crœſus —Carry thy offerings elſewhere; they are not addreſſed to me, but to Fortune. She anſwered an Athenian who put up vows for Solon, of whom he called himſelf the friend—By connecting thyſelf with a wiſe man, thou wiſheſt to partake in his glory, and cauſe thy own vices to be forgotten. She ſaid to two women of Samos, who affectionately embraced each other near her altar—A love for pleaſure apparently unites you; but your hearts are gnawed by jealouſy, and ſoon ſhall they be rent with hatred.

[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737.



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At length, two Syracuſans, Damon and Phintias[1], both educated in the principles of Pythagoras, came to proſtrate themſelves before the goddeſs. I receive your homage, ſaid ſhe to them: I will do more; I abandon a place too long polluted by ſacrifices that are offenſive to me, and wiſh no other aſylum than your hearts. Go, and ſhow to the tyrant of Syracuſe, to the whole world, and to poſterity, what friendſhip can effect in ſouls which I have animated with my power.

On their return, Dionyſius, on ſome frivolous charge, condemned Phintias to death. He requeſted that he might be permitted to go and regulate ſome important affairs which required his preſence in a neighbouring city. He promiſed to return at an appointed day; and departed, after Damon had engaged to anſwer with his life for the fulfilment of his promiſe.

In the mean time, the affairs of Phintias unavoidably compel his ſtay longer than he had expected. The day on which he is to die arrives; the people aſſemble; ſome blame, and others pity Damon, who walks to execution ſerene and unmoved, too certain that his friend will return, and deeming himſelf too happy ſhould he not. Already the fatal moment approaches; when a thouſand tumultuous ſhouts announce the arrival of Phintias. He runs, he flies, to the place of puniſhment; he ſees the ſword ſuſpended over the head of his friend; and, in the midſt of embraces and tears, they contend for the happineſs of dying for each other. The ſpectators diſſolve in tears; the king himſelf deſcends from his throne, and earneſtly entreats them to ſuffer him to participate in ſo noble a friendſhip.

After this ſcene, which ſhould have been pourtrayed with a pencil of fire, it is unneceſſary to dwell on the eulogium of

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1 Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Val. p. 242. Plut. de Amicor. Multit. t. ii. p. 93. Iambl. cap. 33. p. 189. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 54. Cicer. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 10. t. iii. p. 269. Id. Tuſcul. l. 5. c. 22. t. ii. p. 379. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 7. Extern. No. 1.

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friendſhip, or on the advantages it may beſtow in all conditions and circumſtances of life [m].

Almoſt all thoſe who ſpeak of this ſentiment confound it with the connections which are the offspring of chance, and the work of a day [n]. In the fervour of theſe unions at their firſt birth, we behold our friends ſuch as we would wiſh them to be; but ſoon after we ſee them ſuch as they really are [o]. Each ſucceeding choice is not more happy; and we reſolve to renounce friendſhip, or, which is the ſame thing, inceſſantly to change its object [p].

As almoſt all men paſs the greater part of their lives without reflection, and the remainder employ their thoughts on others rather than on themſelves, they are but little acquainted with the nature of the connections they contract. Should they dare to interrogate themſelves concerning that multitude of friends by which they ſometimes imagine they are ſurrounded, they would perceive that theſe friends are united to them only by deceitful appearances. This diſcovery would pierce them with grief; for of what value is life without friends [q]? But it would cauſe them to make a choice at which they ſhould not afterwards have occaſion to bluſh.

Wit, talents, a taſte for the arts, and ſplendid endowments, are very agreeable in the intercourſe of friendſhip; they animate and embelliſh it when it is formed, but they cannot of themſelves prolong its duration.

Friendſhip can only be founded on the love of virtue [r], on flexibility of character, on conformity of principles, and on a certain charm which anticipates reflection, and which reflection afterwards juſtifies.

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[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 746. Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 101.

[n] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 4. p. 104.

[o] Id. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 3. p. 118.

[p] Iſocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 30.

[q] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 101, B.

[r] Plat. epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 332. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 751. Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 103.



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Were I to lay down rules for you on this ſubject, they ſhould be leſs directed to teach you to make a good choice, than to prevent you from making a bad one.

It is almoſt impoſſible that friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed between two perſons of different, and too diſproportionate, conditions. Kings are too great to have friends [s]. Thoſe who ſurround them commonly behold only rivals in their equals, and flatterers in thoſe beneath them. In general, we are inclined to chooſe our friends from among our inferiors, either becauſe we can rely more on their complaiſance, or becauſe we flatter ourſelves we ſhall be more beloved [t]. But as friendſhip renders all things common, and requires equality, you will not chooſe your friends from a rank too much above, nor from one too much below, your own [u].

Before you form a cloſe connection with men whoſe intereſts, with regard to power, fame, or fortune, are the ſame with yours, prove them by repeated trials [x]. Incredible efforts will be neceſſary to preſerve, for any length of time, unions which are perpetually expoſed to the dangers of jealouſy; and we ought not to preſume ſo much on our virtue as to make our happineſs depend on a continued ſeries of conflicts and victories.

Diſtruſt too extravagant an ardour, and proteſtations too exaggerated: they derive their ſource from a falſehood which rends the ſoul of truth and ſimplicity. How is it poſſible they ſhould not be ſuſpected in proſperity, when they may be ſo even in adverſity? for the compaſſion which is affected for the wretched is frequently only an artifice to gain the attention and favour of the happy and proſperous [y].

Diſtruſt alſo thoſe acts of friendſhip which ſometimes eſcape a heart unworthy to experience that ſentiment. Nature pre-

[s] Ariſtot. de Mor. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 108, A.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 9, 10.
[u] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8 § 10. Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 757. Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 7. p. 106.
[x] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 2. p. 751. Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 562. Iſocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 31.
[y] Ariſtot. Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 270.

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ſents to our eyes a certain external derangement, a ſucceſſion of apparent contradictions, from which ſhe derives the greateſt advantage. We ſometimes ſee gleams of equity burſt forth in a ſoul devoted to injuſtice, a ray of wiſdom illumine a mind abandoned to folly, and acts of humanity performed by a harſh and ferocious character. Theſe particles of virtue, detached from their principles, and ſkilfully ſcattered in the midſt of vices, inceſſantly teſtify in favour of that order which they maintain. Friendſhip therefore requires not one of thoſe fervours of the imagination which grow old at the moment they take birth [z], but an equable and continued warmth of ſentiment: when long trials [a] have only ſerved to render this more lively and active, the choice is made, and we begin to live in another ſelf.

From that moment the misfortunes we ſuffer are divided and enfeebled, and the good we enjoy is multiplied [b]. Behold a man in affliction: obſerve the comforters whom a regard to propriety brings round him. What conſtraint in their manner! What falſehood in their language! But the tears, the expreſſion, or ſilence, of real grief are wanting to the wretched. On the other ſide, two true friends would imagine they were guilty of a robbery, were either to taſte pleaſures without the knowledge of the other; and when they are neceſſitated to do this, the firſt feeling of their ſouls is to regret the abſence of an object, which, by dividing the enjoyment, would render it more lively and profound. It is the ſame with honours and all diſtinctions, which ought only to be pleaſing to us ſo far as they juſtify the eſteem our friends entertain for us.

They enjoy a ſtill more noble privilege; that of inſtructing and honouring us by their virtues. If it be true that we learn to become virtuous by frequenting the company of thoſe who

[z] Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 1223.
[a] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 104.
[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 747.

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are so [c]; what emulation, what power, ought not examples so precious to our hearts to inspire! How great must be the pleasure of our friends, when they see us follow in their footsteps! What a tender sensation of affection and delight must we experience, when by their conduct they enforce the public admiration [d]!

Those who are the friends of every body, are so to nobody; they seek only to render themselves agreeable [e]. You will be happy if you can acquire a few friends [f]; perhaps, even they should be reduced to a single one, if you would wish to enjoy friendship in all the perfection of which it is capable [g].

If those various questions, which philosophers discuss concerning friendship, were propounded to me [h]; if I were asked for rules by which to know its duties, and prolong its duration; I would reply, Make a good choice, and afterwards rely on your own sentiments, and on those of your friends; for the decision of the heart is ever more prompt and clear than that of the judgment.

It was, no doubt, in a nation already corrupted, that some one dared to utter these words: "Love your friends as if you were one day to hate them [i];" a vile maxim, for which this other, more consoling, and perhaps more ancient, should be substituted: "Hate your enemies as if you were one day to love them [k]."

Let it not be said that friendship, carried to excess, becomes a punishment; and that we have a sufficient number of evils to bear, which are personal to us, without participating in the misfortunes of others. Those are unacquainted with this

[c] Theogn. ap. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 126.
[d] Xenoph. Mirab. lib. 2. p. 753, E.
[e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. cap. 10. p. 127, D.
[f] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 194.
[g] Id. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 106.
[h] Aristot. de Mor. cap. 2. p. 102. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 187. Id. Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 1. p. 268.
[i] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 690. Cicer. de Amicit. cap. 16. t. iii. p. 341. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 14.
[k] Zaleuc. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 85. Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 21. p. 572.

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ſentiment, who fear its conſequences. Other paſſions are accompanied with torments; but friendſhip only has pains which draw its bonds ſtill cloſer. But if death—Let us baniſh ideas ſo melancholy, or rather let us profit by them, to become intimately convinced of two great truths; the one, that we ought to have the ſame idea of our friends during their lives, that we ſhould entertain were we to be deprived of them; the other, which is a conſequence of the former, that we ought to remember them not only when they are abſent, but alſo when they are preſent.

There are likewiſe other connections which we are obliged to contract in ſociety, and which it is advantageous to cultivate. Such are thoſe which are founded on eſteem and on taſte. Though they have not the ſame claims as friendſhip, they yet afford us a powerful aid to ſupport the weight of life.

Think not that it is virtue to deny yourſelves the harmleſs pleaſures ſuited to your age and circumſtances. Wiſdom is only amiable and ſolid by the happy mixture of the amuſements it permits, and the duties it enjoins.

If to the reſources I have enumerated, you add that hope which ſtill comforts us under all the misfortunes we can experience, you will find, Lyſis, that Nature has not treated us with that ſeverity with which ſhe is charged. To conclude, conſider the preceding reflections only as an elucidation of the following: It is in the heart that every man reſides, and there alone muſt he ſeek his tranquillity and happineſs.

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## CHAP. LXXIX.

### CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE TO DELOS.

### *On Religious Opinions.*

I HAVE ſaid, that the diſcourſe of Philocles was interrupted by the arrival of Demophon. We had ſeen, at a diſtance, this young man converſing with a philoſopher of the Eleah ſchool. Having informed himſelf of the ſubject of our converſation, he exclaimed, We muſt expect happineſs only from ourſelves. I had ſtill ſome doubts, but they are now removed; I maintain that there are no gods, or that they do not concern themſelves with the affairs of men.—My ſon, replied Philocles, I have known many perſons who, though at your age they were ſeduced by this new doctrine, abjured it when they had no longer any intereſt to maintain it [a].—Demophon proteſted that he would never alter his opinion; and enlarged on the abſurdities of the popular religion, treating with contempt the ignorance of the multitude, and our prejudices with deriſion [b].—Hear me, anſwered Philocles; as we make no arrogant pretenſions, we deſerve not to be mortified. If we are in an error, it is your duty to pity and to inſtruct us; for true philoſophy is mild, compaſſionate, and eſpecially modeſt. Declare to us without reſerve what is the doctrine which ſhe teaches us by you. I will tell you, replied the young man: Nature and Chance have arranged in order all the parts of the univerſe; and the policy of legiſlators has ſubjected ſocieties to laws [c]. Theſe ſecrets are now revealed.

PHILOCLES.

You ſeem to be elated with this diſcovery.

[a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 888, A.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 885.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 889.



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DEMOPHON.

And have I not reaſon?

PHILOCLES.

I ſhould think not; it may indeed alleviate the remorſe of the guilty, but it cannot but deject the virtuous man.

DEMOPHON.

Why, in what can it be detrimental to him?

PHILOCLES.

Let us ſuppoſe that a nation exiſted which had no idea of the Divine Being; and that a ſtranger, ſuddenly appearing in one of their aſſemblies, ſhould thus addreſs them: You admire the wonders of nature, without aſcending to their author: I declare to you that they are the work of an intelligent being, who watches over their preſervation, and who views you as his children. You conſider all virtues which are known as uſeleſs, and all offences which eſcape puniſhment as excuſable: I proclaim to you that an inviſible judge is ever preſent with us, and that thoſe actions which meet not the reward or the vengeance of men, are not concealed from his ſight. You imagine that your exiſtence is confined to the few moments which you paſs on earth, and the end of which you view with a ſecret dread: I make known to you, that after death an exiſtence of happineſs or miſery ſhall be the lot of the virtuous or vicious man. Tell me, Demophon, can you doubt but that the good and virtuous part of ſuch a people, proſtrate at the feet of their new legiſlator, would receive his doctrine with avidity, and experience the moſt cruel diſappointment and grief, if ever they ſhould afterward be compelled to renounce it?

DEMOPHON.

They would experience that regret which we feel when we are awakened from a pleaſing dream.

PHILOCLES.

So I think. But, in fine, ſhould you diſpel this dream, would you not have to reproach yourſelf with having depriv-

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ed the unhappy mortal of that error which produced a ſuſpenſion of his ſufferings? and would he not himſelf accuſe you of having left him without defence againſt the aſſaults of fortune, and the wickedneſs of men?

DEMOPHON.

I would elevate his ſoul by ſtrengthening his reaſon; I would ſhow him that true courage conſiſts in calmly ſubmitting to neceſſity.

PHILOCLES.

What ſtrange conſolation! might he exclaim: I am bound down with bands of iron on the rock of Prometheus; and, while the vulture is tearing my entrails, you coldly adviſe me to repreſs my complaints. Alas! if the woes I endure proceed not from a hand which I may at once reverence and love, I can only conſider myſelf as the ſport of Fortune, and the ſcorn of Nature. The inſect, when it ſuffers, at leaſt has not cauſe to bluſh at the triumph of its enemies, nor at the inſult offered to its weakneſs. But, beſides the evils that are common to me and to the reptile, I poſſeſs that reaſon which is more cruel than all theſe, and which inceſſantly renders them more poignant by the foreſight of their conſequences, and the compariſon of my own condition with that of my fellow beings.

How much would my affliction have been alleviated by that philoſophy which you have treated as groſs and falſe! and according to which nothing happens in this world but by the direction, or with the permiſſion, of a Supreme Being [d]. I ſhould have been ignorant why he had ordained me to be unhappy; but ſince I ſhould have believed that he beneath whoſe hand I ſuffered was at the ſame time the author of my exiſtence, I ſhould have found reaſon to hope that he would ſoothe the bitterneſs of my pains, either during my life or after my death [e]. And how, in fact, could it be poſſible, under the

[d] Theogn. Sent. v. 165.
[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 13, A. Id. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 732, D.



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government of the beſt of maſters, at once to be actuated by the moſt exalted hope, and to be wretched?—Could you, Demophon, have the cruelty to reply to theſe complaints by an inſulting contempt, or by frigid pleaſantries?

DEMOPHON.

I would reply by propoſing the example of ſome philoſophers who have ſupported the enmity of men, poverty, exile, and every kind of perſecution, rather than renounce the truth.

PHILOCLES.

They maintained the conteſt in the face of the ſun, on a ſpacious theatre, in the preſence of the world and of poſterity. Such a ſituation, and ſpectators ſo numerous, inſpire courage [f]. But the man who groans in obſcurity, and whoſe tears flow unobſerved, he it is who needs ſupport.

DEMOPHON.

I conſent then to leave to feeble minds that ſupport which you would wiſh to provide for them.

PHILOCLES.

It will be equally neceſſary to them to enable them to reſiſt the violence of their paſſions.

DEMOPHON.

Perhaps ſo. But I ſhall always maintain that vigorous minds, without the fear of the gods, or the hope of the approbation of men, may endure with reſignation all the perſecutions of fate, and even perform the moſt painful acts of the moſt rigid virtue.

PHILOCLES.

You allow then that our prejudices are neceſſary to the greater part of the human race; and on this point you agree with all legiſlators [g]. Let us now examine if they would not alſo be uſeful to thoſe privileged minds who pretend to poſ-

[f] Id. ibid. p. 604, A.

[g] Hippod. de Rep. ap. Stob. lib. 41. p. 250. Zaleuc. ibid. p. 279. Charond. ibid. lib. 42. p. 289. Hermipp. ap. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. § 22, p. 378.

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ſeſs in their virtues alone an invincible ſtrength. You are, no doubt, of this number; and, as you can reaſon cloſely, let us begin with comparing our opinions with yours.

We ſay that men owe obedience to laws which exiſted antecedently to every human inſtitution [h]. Theſe laws, proceeding from that Intelligence which formed and ſtill preſerves the univerſe, are the relations which we bear to that exalted being, and to our fellow-creatures. We violate them when we commit an act of injuſtice, and offend both againſt ſociety and againſt the firſt author of the order by which ſociety is maintained.

You ſay, on the contrary, the right of the ſtrongeſt is the only notion which nature has engraven in my heart [i]. The diſtinction between juſtice and injuſtice, virtue and vice, originates not from her, but from poſitive laws. My actions, indifferent in themſelves, are only transformed into crimes in conſequence of the arbitrary conventions of men [k].

Let us now ſuppoſe that we both act conformably to our principles; and that we are placed in one of thoſe ſituations, in which virtue, ſurrounded by temptations, has need of her utmoſt ſtrength. On the one hand, honours, riches, and every kind of influence and diſtinction invite; and, on the other, we are threatened with the loſs of life, our families muſt be abandoned to indigence, and our memories ſtigmatized with opprobrium. Chooſe, Demophon; you are only required to commit an act of injuſtice. Obſerve that you ſhall poſſeſs the ring which rendered Gyges inviſible [l]: I mean that the author, the accomplice of your crime, ſhall be a thouſand times more intereſted than yourſelf eternally to conceal it. But, even though it ſhould be diſcovered, what have you to dread? The laws? they ſhall be ſilenced. The opinion of the

h Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 807. Ariſt. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 34. t. ii. p. 106, E. Id. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 13. t. ii. p. 541, A. Cudworth. de Ætern. Inſt. et Honeſt. Notion. t. ii. p. 628.

i Ap. Plat. de Leg. t. ii. p. 890. Ap. Ariſtot. ibid.

k Theod. ap. Laert. lib. 2. § 99. Id. ap. Suid. in Θεοδ.

l Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. p. 612.

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public? that ſhall only turn againſt you if you reſiſt. Are you awed by the bonds which unite you to ſociety? that ſociety itſelf is about to break them, by abandoning you to the perſecution of the man in power. By the remorſe of conſcience? mere childiſh prejudice! which muſt be diſſipated when you ſhall reflect on that maxim of your writers and politicians, that the juſtice or injuſtice of an action ought only to be eſtimated by the advantages that are to be derived from it [m].

DEMOPHON.

More noble motives would ſuffice to reſtrain me—the love of order, the beauty of virtue, and ſelf-eſteem.

PHILOCLES.

If theſe reſpectable motives are not animated by a ſupernatural principle, how much is it to be feared that ſuch feeble reeds ſhould break beneath the hand which they ſuſtain! Is it to be ſuppoſed that you will believe yourſelf to be invincibly bound by chains which you yourſelf have forged, and of which you keep the key? Will you ſacrifice to abſtractions of the mind, and factitious ſentiments, your life, and all that you hold moſt dear in the world? In the ſtate of degradation to which you are reduced—ſhade, duſt, inſect—under which of theſe titles will you pretend that your virtues are of any importance, that you have need of your own eſteem, or that the preſervation of order depends on the choice that you are about to make? No; never can you aggrandize nihility by beſtowing on it pride: and that powerful law which compels all animals to prefer their own preſervation to that of all the reſt of the univerſe, can only be annulled or modified by another law ſtill more powerful.

As to us, nothing can juſtify vice in our eyes, becauſe our duties are never in oppoſition to our true intereſts. Though our inſignificancy hide us in the boſom of the earth, or our

[m] Lyſand. ap. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 229.



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power raiſe us to the ſkies [n], we are ever in the preſence of a judge who beholds our actions and our thoughts [o], and who alone gives a ſanction to order, powerful charms to virtue, a real dignity to man, and a legitimate foundation to the eſteem he entertains for himſelf. I reſpect poſitive laws, becauſe they flow from thoſe which God has deeply imprinted on my heart [p]; I aſpire to the approbation of my fellow-mortals, becauſe, like me, they bear in their minds a ray of his light, and in their ſouls the germs of the virtues of which he inſpires them with the deſire. Laſtly, I fear the remorſe of conſcience, becauſe that would degrade me from the elevation to which I attain by acting conformably to the will of the Supreme Being. Thus I have every counterpoiſe which ſuſtains you when on the brink of the abyſs; and poſſeſs, beſides, a ſuperior force, which enables theſe to make a more vigorous reſiſtance.

DEMOPHON.

I have known many perſons who neither believed in a deity nor a future life, and yet whoſe moral conduct has never been liable to the ſmalleſt cenſure [p].

PHILOCLES.

And I could produce you a ſtill greater number who believed in both, and who yet have ever acted as knaves and villains. What are we to conclude from this? That they both equally acted contrary to their principles; the former when they did good, the latter when they committed evil. Such inconſiſtencies cannot eſtabliſh rules. The queſtion is, to know whether a virtue, founded on laws which it is believed had their origin in the will of the Divine Being, will not be more pure, ſolid, conſolatory, and eaſy in practice, than a virtue ſolely eſtabliſhed on the changeable opinions of men.

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[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 905.

[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 728, C.

[p] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 267.

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 908, B. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. t. i. p. 20, 21.



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DEMOPHON.

I, in my turn, ſhall aſk you, whether true morality can ever be made to accord with a religion which tends only to deſtroy morals? and whether the ſuppoſition of a multitude of unjuſt and cruel gods be not the moſt extravagant idea that ever entered into the human mind? We deny their exiſtence: you have ſhamefully degraded them; you are therefore more impious than we [r].

PHILOCLES.

Theſe gods are the work of our hands, ſince they have our imperfections. We feel greater indignation than you at the vices and frailties which have been attributed to them. But if we ſhould be able to purify religious worſhip from the ſuperſtitions by which it is disfigured, would you be more diſpoſed to render to the Divine Being the homage which is due to him from mortals?

DEMOPHON.

Prove that he exiſts, and that he extends his care to men, and I will proſtrate myſelf before him.

PHILOCLES.

It is for you to prove that he does not exiſt, ſince you attack an opinion which has been received among all nations during a long ſucceſſion of ages. For my part, I only mean to repreſs the air of raillery and inſult which you at firſt aſſumed. I began by making a compariſon between your doctrine and ours, as we ſhould compare two ſyſtems of philoſophy. The reſult of this parallel would have been, that every man being, according to your writers, the meaſure of all things, ought to refer every thing to himſelf alone [s]; but that, according to us, the meaſure of all things being God himſelf [t], he ſhould be the model by which we ſhould regulate our ſentiments and actions [u].

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[r] Plut. de Superſt. t. ii. p. 169, F. Bayle Penſ. ſur la Com. t. i. § 116.

[s] Protag. ap. Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 167 et 170, E. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 55.

[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716, D.

[u] Id. Epiſt. 8. t. iii. p. 354, E.



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You ask me what monuments attests the existence of the Deity? I answer, the universe; the dazzling splendour and majestic progress of the heavenly bodies; the correspondence of that innumerable multitude of beings; in fine, this whole, and its admirable parts, which all bear the impress of a divine hand; in which all is grandeur, wisdom, proportion and harmony. I will add the concurrence of all nations [x]; not to compel you to acquiescence by authority, but because their belief, constantly maintained by the cause which first produced it, is an incontestable proof of the impression which the enchanting beauties of nature have ever made on all minds [y].

Reason, co-operating with my senses, likewise points out to me the most excellent of artificers, and the most magnificent of works. I view a man walking, and I infer that he has within him an active principle. His steps conduct him wherever he wishes to go, and I thence conclude that this principle adapts the means to the end which it proposes.—Let us apply this example. All nature is in motion; there is therefore a first mover. This motion is subjected to a constant order; a Supreme Intelligence therefore exists. Here ends the ministry of my reason; should I suffer it to proceed farther, I should come at last, like many philosophers, to doubt of my own existence. Even those among the philosophers who maintain that the world has existed from eternity, nevertheless admit a first cause; for, according to them, it is impossible to conceive a succession of regular motions, performed in concert, without admitting an intelligent moving power [z].

DEMOPHON.

These proofs, however, have not prevented the progress of atheism.

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[x] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 886. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 1. cap 3. t. i. p. 434. E. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 411.

[y] Plat. ibid. Aristot. ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 37. t. ii. p. 464.

[z] Arist. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. &c. t. ii. p. 1000.

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PHILOCLES.

That is only to be aſcribed to preſumption and ignorance [a],

DEMOPHON.

It is to be aſcribed to the writings of the philoſophers. You are acquainted with their ſentiments on the exiſtence and nature of the Divine Being *.

PHILOCLES.

They have been ſuſpected and accuſed of atheiſm [b], becauſe they have not paid ſufficient reſpect to the opinions of the multitude; becauſe they have ventured to lay down principles of which they foreſaw not the conſequences; and becauſe, in explaining the formation and mechaniſm of the univerſe, too cloſely following the method of the natural philoſophers, they have not called in the aid of a ſupernatural cauſe. There are ſome of them, but the number is very ſmall, who expreſsly reject this cauſe, and their ſolutions are equally incomprehenſible and inſufficient.

DEMOPHON.

They are not more ſo than the ideas which are entertained of the Divinity. His eſſence is unknown, and I can never believe in that of which I have no knowledge.

PHILOCLES.

You advance a falſe principle. Does not Nature inceſſantly preſent you with impenetrable myſteries? You grant that matter exiſts, without having a knowledge of its eſſence. You know that your arm obeys your will, though you cannot perceive the connection between the cauſe and the effect.

DEMOPHON.

Sometimes we are told of one God, and ſometimes of many. The attributes of the Deity appear to me equally imperfect and contradictory. His wiſdom requires that he ſhould main-

[a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 886.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[b] Bayle Contin. de Penſ. ſur la Com. t. iii. § 21 et 26.



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tain order on the earth, but disorder every where conspicuously triumphs. He is just, yet I suffer undeservedly.

PHILOCLES.

In the origin of societies, it was believed that genii, placed in the stars, watched over the government of the universe; and, as they were supposed to be invested with great power, they obtained the adoration of mortals, and the sovereign was almost every where neglected for his ministers.

The remembrance of him was, however, still preserved among all nations [c]. You will find vestiges of it, more or less apparent, in the most ancient monuments; and the most express testimonies in the writings of the modern philosophers. Observe the superiority which Homer assigns to one of the objects of public worship: Jupiter is the father of gods and men. Examine all Greece; you will find the one Supreme Being has been long adored in Arcadia, under the name of the god *good* by pre-eminence [d]; and in several cities under that of the Most High [e], or the Most Great [f].

Afterwards, hear Timæus, Anaxagoras, and Plato: they will tell you it was the one Divine Being who reduced the chaos to order, and formed the world [g].

Listen to Antisthenes, the disciple of Socrates. Many gods are adored among different nations, but Nature indicates only one [h].

Lastly, consult the philosophers of the Pythagorean school, who all have considered the universe as an army which performs its motions as directed by the general; or as a vast

[c] Acts, ch. x. ver. 35; chap. xvii. v. 23. 28. Romans, ch. i. ver. 25. Jablonsk. Panth. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 38. Id. in Proleg. § 22. Freret. Defens. de la Chronologie, p. 335. Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 469. Cudw. cap. 4. § 14. &c. &c.

[d] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 36. p. 673. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[e] Id. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62; lib. 5. cap. 15. p. 414; lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600; lib. 9. cap. 8. p. 728.

[f] Id. lib. 10. cap. 37. p. 893.

[g] Tim. de Anim. Mund. Plat. in Tim. Anaxag. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 881.

[h] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 407. Lactant Instit. Divin. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 18. Id. de Ira Dei. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 153. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 420.

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empire, in which the ſupreme power reſides in the ſovereign [i].

But whence is it that men have given to the genii, who are ſubordinate to the Deity, a title which appertains to him alone? Becauſe, by an abuſe which has long been introduced into all languages, the expreſſions *god* and *divine* frequently only ſignify a ſuperiority of rank, or excellence in merit, and are every day laviſhed on princes whom he has inveſted with his power; minds which he has illuminated with his light, or works which have proceeded from his hands, or from thoſe of men [k]. He is, in fact, ſo exalted and ſo great, that we have no other means of magnifying human grandeur but by comparing it to his; and, on the other hand, we find it difficult to conceive that he either can or will deign to caſt his eyes on us.

You deny his immenſity; but have you never reflected on the multiplicity of objects which your mind and ſenſes are able at once to comprehend? What! ſhall your ſight without difficulty extend to a great number of ſtadia, and ſhall not he be able with a glance to penetrate infinity? You are able to fix your attention, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, on Greece, Sicily, or Egypt; and ſhall it not be poſſible that his ſhould extend through the whole univerſe [l]?

You aſſign limits to his power, as if he could be great without being good. Can you believe that he bluſhes at his work? that an inſect, or even a blade of graſs, are deſpicable in his ſight? that he has endowed man with ſo many eminent qualities [m], that he has implanted in him the deſire, neceſſity, and hope of knowing him, to remove him for ever from his ſight? No; never can I be induced to believe that the father can forget his children; or that, by a negligence incompatible

[i] Archyt. de Doctr. Mor. ap. Stob. ſerm. 1. p. 15. Gnat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 4. Sthenid. ap. Stob. ſerm. 46. p. 332. Diotog. ibid. p. 330.

[k] Menand. ap. Stob. ſerm. 32. p. 213. Cleric. Ars Critic. ſect. 1. cap. 3. t. 1. p. 2. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 4. § 5. p. 271.

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 728.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 725, 726.



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with his perfections [n], he will not deign to preſerve that order which he has eſtabliſhed in the univerſe.

DEMOPHON.

If that order originated from him, why is there ſo much guilt and miſery to be found on the earth? If he cannot prevent theſe, where is his power? or if he will not, where is his juſtice?

PHILOCLES.

I expected this objection; it has frequently been made, and will be repeated in every age; it is indeed the only one which can be adduced againſt us. If all men were happy, they would not revolt againſt the author of their exiſtence; but they ſuffer beneath his eyes, and he appears to abandon them. Here my reaſon is confounded; and I interrogate the traditions of antiquity, all of which depoſe in favour of a providence. I interrogate the ſages [o], who almoſt all agree fundamentally in the doctrine, though they heſitate and differ in the manner in which they explain it. Many of them, convinced that to limit the juſtice or goodneſs of God, would be to annihilate thoſe attributes, have rather choſen to admit bounds to his power. Some ſay, God works only to produce good; but matter, by a viciouſneſs inherent in its nature, occaſions evil, by reſiſting the will of the Supreme Being [p]. Others ſay that the Divine influence extends in its full effect to the ſphere of the moon, but acts only feebly in the inferior regions [q]. Others aſſert that God directs affairs of conſequence, but neglects thoſe of leſs moment [r]. Laſtly, there are ſome who afford a ray of light to guide me through the darkneſs by which I am ſurrounded. Feeble mortals, exclaim they, ceaſe to conſider as real evils poverty, ſickneſs, and all the

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 902.
[o] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 398.
[p] Plat. in Tim. paſſim.
[q] Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2. Ariſt. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 453. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 45. Not. S.
[r] Ap. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 901. Ap. Ariſtot. de Mundo, cap. 6. t. i. p. 611. Eurip. ap. Plut. de Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 811.



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external misfortunes that assail you. These accidents, which by your resignation may be converted into benefits, are only the consequences of the laws necessary to the preservation of the universe. You make a part of the general system of things, but you are only a part. You were created for the whole, and not the whole for you [s].

Thus all is good in nature, except in the class of beings where every thing ought to be best. Inanimate bodies obey without resistance the motions impressed on them; animals destitute of reason yield without reluctance to the instinct which impels them. Men alone are equally distinguished by their vices and their understanding. Are they the slaves of necessity, like the rest of nature? Why are they able to resist their inclinations? Why have they received those lights which lead them astray—that desire to attain to the knowledge of their Maker—those ideas of good—that most fatal, if it be not the most noble of all gifts, the propensity to commiserate the woes of their fellow creatures? When we consider these various privileges by which they are essentially characterized, ought we not to conclude that God, from views which it is not permitted us to penetrate, has intended to subject to the most rigid trials, the power which we possess of deliberating and choosing? Yes; if there be virtues on earth there is justice in heaven. He who pays not a tribute to the law, owes to the law a satisfaction [t]. Man begins his life in this world, and continues it in an abode where innocence receives the reward of its sufferings, and where the guilty expiate their crimes till they are purified from their pollution.

Thus, Demophon, do our sages justify Providence. They acknowledge no other evil to which we are exposed than vice, and know no other explanation of the difficulty it occasions, than a futurity in which all things shall be restored to order. To ask, at present, why God has not prevented evil in its

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 903. | [t] Id. ibid. p. 905.

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origin, is to aſk why he has made the univerſe according to his views, and not according to ours.

DEMOPHON.

Religion is only an abſurd mixture of mean ideas and minute ceremonies. As if there were not tyrants enough on earth, you have filled with them the heavens. You ſurround me with inſpectors jealous of each other, eager to obtain my preſents, and to whom I can only offer the homage of a ſervile fear. The worſhip which they require is only a ſhameful traffic; they beſtow on you riches, and you give them victims [u]. Man, when debaſed by ſuperſtition, is the vileſt of ſlaves. Your philoſophers themſelves have not inſiſted on the neceſſity of acquiring virtue ourſelves before we preſent ourſelves before the Divine Being, or of requeſting it of him in our prayers [x].

PHILOCLES.

I have already ſaid, that our public worſhip is groſsly diſfigured, and that my deſign was ſimply to explain to you the relations which exiſt between man and the Divinity. Retain your doubts of theſe relations, if you are ſo blind as not to diſcern them; but ſay not that we degrade our ſouls when we ſeparate them from the maſs of beings, aſſign to them the moſt illuſtrious of origins and deſtinies, and eſtabliſh between them and the Supreme Being an intercourſe of benefits and gratitude.

Do you wiſh for a pure and celeſtial morality, which may exalt your mind and ſentiments, ſtudy the doctrine and conduct of Socrates, who only beheld in his condemnation, impriſonment and death, the decrees of an infinitely wiſe Being, and did not even deign to complain of the injuſtice of his enemies.

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[u] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 14, C.

[x] Bayle Contin. des Penſées, t. iii. § 51. 54. &c.

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At the ſame time contemplate with Pythagoras the laws of univerſal harmony [y], and inceſſantly have before your eyes the regularity in the diſtribution of the different worlds, and the diſpoſition of the heavenly bodies, the concurrence of all wills in a wiſely governed republic, and of all the paſſions and emotions in a virtuous ſoul; all beings labouring in concert for the maintenance of order, and order preſerving the univerſe and its minuteſt parts; a God the author of this ſublime plan, and men deſtined by their virtues to be ſubſervient to him, and co-operate with him in his great deſign. Never did ſyſtem diſplay more genius, or give a more exalted idea of the grandeur and dignity of man.

Permit me ſtill to proceed; ſince you attack our philoſophers, it is my duty to defend them. The youth Lyſis is inſtructed in their opinions, if I may judge from the preceptors who have had the care of his education. I will interrogate him on the different articles which have been the ſubject of this converſation, and you ſhall hear his anſwers. You will thus obtain a ſuccinct view of the whole of our doctrine; and be enabled to judge whether reaſon, left to itſelf, could poſſibly have conceived a ſyſtem more worthy of the Divine Being, or of greater utility to mankind *.

PHILOCLES.

Tell me, Lyſis, who formed the world?

LYSIS.

God [z].

PHILOCLES.

How did he form it?

LYSIS.

By an effect of his goodneſs [a].

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[y] Theag. ap. Stob. ſerm. 1. p. 11. Criton. ibid. ſerm. 3. p. 43. Polus, ibid. ſerm. 9. p. 105. Diotog. ibid. ſerm. 46. p. 330. Hippodam. ib. ſerm. 101. p. 555. Ocell. in Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 32.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Tim. Locr. de Anim. Mundi, ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 30, &c. Id. ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 403.

[a] Plat. ibid. p. 29, E.

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PHILOCLES.

What is God?

LYSIS.

That which has neither beginning nor end [b]: the eternal [c], neceſſary, immutable, and intelligent Being [d].

PHILOCLES.

Can we attain to the knowledge of his eſſence?

LYSIS.

His eſſence is incomprehenſible and ineffable [e], but he ſpeaks diſtinctly by his works [f]; and his language bears the character of great truths, becauſe it is intelligible to the whole world: a more refulgent light would be uſeleſs to us, and doubtleſs would neither accord with his plan nor our weakneſs. Who, in fact, can ſay, but the impatience we feel to elevate ourſelves to him, may be a preſage of the deſtiny that awaits us? And if indeed it be true, as has been ſaid, that he is ineffably happy in the ſole contemplation of his perfections [g], to deſire to know him is to deſire to partake in his happineſs.

PHILOCLES.

Does his providence extend to all nature?

LYSIS.

Even to the moſt minute objects [h].

PHILOCLES.

Can we conceal our actions from his ſight?

LYSIS.

No, nor even our thoughts [i].

PHILOCLES.

Is God the author of evil?

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[b] Thal. ap. Diog. Laert. l. 1. § 36.
[c] Tim. Locr. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96.
[d] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8. cap. 6. t. i. p. 416; cap. 7. p. 418; cap. 15. p. 430. Id. Metaphyſ. l. 14. cap. 7. p. 1001.
[e] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.
[f] Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 4.
[g] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 139, E. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 1. Ibid. p. 425, E.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 900, C. Theolog. Payenn. t. i. p. 190.
[i] Epicharm. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 708. Æſchyl. ap. Theophil. ad Autolic. lib. 2. § 54. Eurip. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. cap. 7. p. 8. Thal. ap. Laert. lib. 1. § 36.

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LYSIS.

The good Being can only be the cauſe of good [k].

PHILOCLES.

What are your relations to him?

LYSIS.

I am his work, I appertain to him, and his care watches over me [l].

PHILOCLES.

What is the worſhip which is ſuitable to him?

LYSIS.

That which the laws of our country have eſtabliſhed, human wiſdom being unable to arrive at any poſitive knowledge on this ſubject [m].

PHILOCLES.

Is it ſufficient to honour him by ſacrifices and pompous ceremonies?

LYSIS.

No.

PHILOCLES.

What more is neceſſary?

LYSIS.

Purity of heart [n]; his favour is ſooner to be obtained by virtue than by offerings [o]; and as there can be no communication between him and injuſtice [p], ſome have believed that we ought to force from the altars the guilty wretches who have there taken refuge [q].

PHILOCLES.

Is this doctrine, which is taught by the philoſophers, acknowledged alſo by the prieſts?

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[k] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 30, A. Id. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 379, D.

[l] Id. in Phædon, t. i. p. 62, D.

[m] Plat. in Epinom. t. ii. p. 985, D.

[n] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. p. 279. Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 149, E. Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 61.

[o] Zaleuc. ap. Died. Sic. lib. 12. p. 34. et ap. Stob. p. 279. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 722.

[p] Charond. ap. Stob. ſerm. 42. p. 289.

[q] Eurip. ap. Stob. ſerm. 44. p. 307.

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LYSIS.

They have caused it to be engraven on the gate of the temple of Epidaurus, ENTRANCE INTO THESE PLACES, saith the inscription, IS PERMITTED ONLY TO PURE SOULS [r]. It is loudly declared in our holy ceremonies; in which, when the priest has said, *Who are those who are here assembled?* the multitude reply, *Good and virtuous people* [s].

PHILOCLES.

Have your prayers for their object the goods of this world?

LYSIS.

No; I know not but they may be hurtful: and I should fear lest the Deity, offended at the indiscretion of my petitions, should grant my request [t].

PHILOCLES.

What then do you ask of him?

LYSIS.

To protect me against my passions [u]; to grant me true beauty, which is that of the soul [x], and the knowledge and virtue of which I have need [y]; to bestow on me the power to refrain from committing any injustice; and, especially, the courage to endure, when necessary, the injustice of others [z].

PHILOCLES.

What ought we to do to render ourselves agreeable to the Deity?

LYSIS.

To remember that we are ever in his presence [a], to undertake nothing without imploring his assistance [b], to aspire in some degree to resemble him by justice and sanctity [c], to refer

[r] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 652.
[s] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 435 et 967.
[t] Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 138, &c.
[u] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 279.
[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 279. Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 148. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 705.
[y] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 100; ap. eund. de Virt. t. iii. p. 379.
[z] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239, A.
[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 728.
[b] Charond. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 289. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27 et 48. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 712. Id. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 352, E.
[c] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176, B. Aur. Carm. vers. ult.

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to him all our actions [d], to fulfil punctually the duties of our condition, and to consider as the first of them all, that of being useful to mankind [e]; for the more good we do, the more we merit to be ranked among the number of his children and his friends [f].

PHILOCLES.

May we obtain happiness by observing these precepts?

LYSIS.

Doubtless; since happiness consists in wisdom, and wisdom in the knowledge of God [g].

PHILOCLES.

But this knowledge must be very imperfect.

LYSIS.

And therefore we can only enjoy perfect happiness in another life [h].

PHILOCLES.

Is it true that, after our death, our souls shall appear in the Field of Truth, and render an account of their conduct to inexorable judges? and that afterward, some, conveyed into pleasant meadows, shall there enjoy a tranquil existence in the midst of festivals and music; while others shall be cast by the Furies into Tartarus, where they shall undergo at once the torments of flames, and the cruelty of devouring beasts [i]?

LYSIS.

I know not.

PHILOCLES.

May we affirm that both these classes of souls, after having passed at least a thousand years in tortures or in pleasures, shall again enter a mortal body, either among the human race

[d] Bias ap. Laert. l. 1. § 88. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 1072.
[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 780.
[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 612, E. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. p. 716, D. Alexand. ap. Plut. t. i. p. 681, A.
[g] Theag. ap. Stob. serm. 1. p. 11. lin. 50. Archyt. ibid. p. 15. Plat. Theæt. t. i. p. 176; in Euthyd. p. 280. Id. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354, T. Id. ap. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 9.
[h] Plat. in Epinom. t. ii. p. 992.
[i] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371.

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or among other animals, and begin a new life [k]; but that eternal punishments await certain crimes [l]?

LYSIS.

Of this also I am ignorant. The Divine Being has not explained to us the nature of the punishments and rewards appointed after death. All that I affirm, from the ideas which we have of order and justice, and from the consent of all nations and all ages [m], is, that every one will be dealt with according to his merits [n]; and that the just man, suddenly passing from the nocturnal day of this life [o] to the pure and resplendent light of a second existence, shall enjoy that unchangeable happiness, of which this world only presents the feeble image [p].

PHILOCLES.

What are our duties towards ourselves?

LYSIS.

To assign to the spiritual part of us the greatest honours next to those which we pay to the Divinity; never to pollute it by vices or remorse, sell it to riches, sacrifice it to pleasure; nor ever, on any occasion, to prefer a substance so terrestrial and frail as the body, to a substance whose origin is from heaven, and whose duration is eternal [q].

PHILOCLES.

What are our duties towards other men?

LYSIS.

They are all contained in this rule: Do not unto others what you would not wish they should do unto you [r].

PHILOCLES.

But are you not to be pitied, should all these opinions prove mere illusions, and should the soul not survive the body?

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[k] Id. ibid. Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 748.
[l] Plat. ibid. p. 615. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 525.
[m] Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 523. Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 120.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 905.
[o] Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 521.
[p] Plat. in Epinom. t. ii. p. 973 et 992.
[q] Id. de Leg. lib. 5. p. 727, &c.
[r] Isocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 116.

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LYSIS.

Religion requires not more from her votaries than philoſophy. Far from exacting from the virtuous man any ſacrifice which may excite his regret, ſhe diffuſes a ſecret charm over his duties; and procures him two ineſtimable advantages—an undiſturbed tranquillity during his life, and a delicious hope in the moment of death[s].

## CHAP. LXXX.

*Continuation of the Library.—Poetry.*

I HAD taken with me to the houſe of Euclid, young Lyſis, the ſon of Apollodorus. We entered one of the apartments of the library, which contained only poetical works, and treatiſes on morals; of the former there was a great variety, but a very ſmall number of the latter. Lyſis appeared ſurpriſed at this diſproportion. A few books, ſaid Euclid, are ſufficient to inſtruct men, but many are neceſſary for their entertainment. Our duties are limited, but the pleaſures of the mind and heart can know no bounds; the Imagination, by which they are nouriſhed, is equally liberal and fruitful; while Reaſon, poor and ſterile, only diſpenſes to us thoſe feeble lights which are neceſſary: and as we act more from ſenſation than reflection, the talents of the Imagination will always appear to us to have more charms than the counſels of Reaſon, her rival.

This ſplendid faculty is leſs employed on what is real than on what is poſſible, a much more extenſive ſubject than reality. Frequently it even paſſes the bounds of poſſibility to indulge in thoſe fictions to which no limits can be aſſigned. The voice of Imagination peoples the deſerts, beſtows life on the moſt inſenſible beings, transfers from one object to another the

[s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 91 et 114.



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qualities and colours by which they are diſtinguiſhed, and, by a ſucceſſion of transformations, hurries us away into the abode of enchantments, into that ideal world, in which the poets, forgetting the earth, and forgetting themſelves, have intercourſe only with intelligences of a ſuperior order.

There they gather their verſes in the gardens of the muſes [t], tranquil ſtreams roll for them their waves of milk and honey [u]; Apollo deſcends from heaven to lend them his lyre [x], and a divine breath, ſuddenly extinguiſhing their reaſon, throws them into the convulſions of a delirium, and compels them to ſpeak the language of the gods, of whom they are then no other than the organs [y].

You ſee, added Euclid, that I borrow the words of Plato. He frequently ridiculed thoſe poets who complain in ſuch frigid language of the fire by which they pretend to be interiorly conſumed. But there are among them thoſe who actually feel the influence of that enthuſiaſm which is called divine inſpiration, or poetic fury [z]. Æſchylus, Pindar, and all our great poets, were actuated by it, as their writings will for ever evince. What do I ſay? Demoſthenes, in our popular aſſemblies, and individuals in ſociety, cauſe us every day to experience its effects. Should you yourſelf have to paint the tranſports or the woes of one of thoſe paſſions, which, when at their height, no longer leave the mind its freedom, your eyes, your language, would become alike inflamed and ardent, and the frequent violence of your manner and expreſſion would appear as fits of fury or of madneſs. Yet would you only have yielded to the voice of nature.

This ardour, which ought to animate all the productions of the mind, is diſplayed in poetry [a] with more or leſs intenſity, according as the ſubject requires more or leſs emotion, or the

[t] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534.
[u] Id. ibid.
[x] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 1.
[y] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534.
[z] Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 245. Id. et Democrit. ap. Cicer. de Orat. cap. 46. t. i. p. 237.
[a] Cicer. Tuſculan. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 254. Id. ad Quint. lib. 3. epiſt. 4. t. ix. p. 87; epiſt. 5. p. 89.



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author more or less possesses that sublime talent which accommodates itself with facility to the characters of the passions; or that profound sentiment which suddenly enkindles in his heart, and rapidly communicates itself to the feelings of others [b]. These two qualities are not always united. I knew a poet of Syracuse who never made such beautiful verses as when he was transported beyond himself by a violent enthusiasm [c].

Lysis then asked several questions, the purport of which may be gathered from the substance of the answers of Euclid. Poetry, said the latter, has its particular language and style. In the epic poem, and in tragedy, a great action is represented, all the parts of which are connected at the pleasure of the poet, who alters known facts, by adding others which may increase the interest; sometimes giving them greater importance by the means of marvellous incidents, and sometimes by the varied charms of diction, or the beauty of the thoughts and sentiments. Frequently the fable, that is to say, the manner of disposing the action [d], costs more labour, or does more honour, to the poet, than even the composition of the verses [e].

The other kinds of poetry do not require from the writer so artificial a construction; but he ought always to display a species of invention, to animate whatever subject he treats with novel fictions, to impart to his readers his own ardour, and never to forget, that, according to Simonides [f], poetry is a speaking picture, and painting a mute poetry.

It hence follows, that verse alone cannot constitute a poem. The history of Herodotus put into verse would still be only a history [g], because it would neither contain a fable nor fiction [h]. It also follows, that we ought not to enumerate among the

[b] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 665, C.
[c] Id. Probl. t. ii. p. 817, C.
[d] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 656, E.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 659, E.
[f] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 17. Voss. de Art. Poet. Nat. p. 6.
[g] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. t. ii. p. 659.
[h] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 61, E.



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productions of poetry, the ſentences of Theognis, Phocylides, &c., nor even the ſyſtems of nature of Parmenides and Empedocles [i]; though the works of the latter ſometimes contain ſplendid deſcriptions [k] or ingenious allegories [l].

I have ſaid that Poetry has a peculiar language. In the compacts which ſhe has entered into with Proſe, ſhe has agreed never to appear but with the richeſt, at leaſt the moſt elegant, ornaments; and all the colours of nature are delivered into her hands, with the obligation inceſſantly to uſe them, and the hope of pardon ſhould ſhe even ſometimes abuſe them.

She has added to her empire a number of words interdicted to Proſe, and others which ſhe lengthens or ſhortens by the addition or retrenchment of a letter or ſyllable. She poſſeſſes the power of creating new ones [m], and the almoſt excluſive privileges of employing thoſe which are no longer in uſe, or which are only ſo in a foreign country [n]; of combining many into one [o], diſpoſing them in an order before unknown [p], and indulging in thoſe licences which diſtinguiſh poetical elocution from ordinary language.

The privileges granted to genius are extended to almoſt all the inſtruments which ſecond its operations; and hence the numerous forms of verſe, each of which has a peculiar character indicated by nature. That of the heroic is a majeſtic grandeur; it has therefore been appropriated to the epic poem. The iambic frequently occurs in converſation, and has been ſucceſsfully employed in dramatic poetry. Other forms are found to be better adapted to ſongs accompanied with dan-

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[i] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 1. p. 653. Plut. de Aut. Poet. p. 16.

[k] Ariſtot. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 57. Emped. ap. Plut de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 396.

[l] Sext. Empir. ibid. p. 392.

[m] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 669, B.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 668, D. et cap. 22. p. 669, E.

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 668, A.

[p] Id. cap. 22. p. 670, C.

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ces [q] *, and are uſed in odes and hymns. Thus have the poets multiplied the means of diffuſing pleaſure.

Euclid, as he ended, ſhowed us the works which have appeared at different times under the names of Orpheus, Muſæus, Thamyris [r], Linus, Anthes [s], Pamphus [t], Olen [u], Abaris [x], Epimenides [y], &c. Some contain only ſacred hymns or plaintive ſongs; others treat of ſacrifices, oracles, expiations, and enchantments. In ſome of theſe, and eſpecially the Epic Cycle, which is a collection of fabulous traditions whence the tragic writers have frequently taken the ſubjects of their pieces [z], are contained the genealogies of the gods, the combat of the Titans, the expedition of the Argonauts, and the wars of Thebes and Troy [a]; theſe being the principal objects which engaged the attention of men of literature during many ages. As the greater part of theſe works are not by the authors whoſe name they bear †, Euclid had not arranged them in any regular order.

Next came the works of Heſiod and Homer. The latter were accompanied by a formidable body of interpreters and commentators [b]. I had read, with no ſmall diſguſt, the elucidations of Steſimbrotus and Glaucon [c]; and had been much diverted with the labour employed by Metrodorus of Lampſacus, to diſcover a continued allegory in the Iliad and Odyſſey [d].

After the example of Homer, a great number of poets undertook to celebrate the war of Troy. Among others were

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[q] Id. cap. 24. p. 672, B.

* See, concerning the different kinds of Greek verſe, Chap. XXVI. of this work.

[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 364. Id. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 829. Ariſtot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 1073.

[s] Heracl. ap. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1132.

[t] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 92, 94, &c.

[u] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 35.

[x] Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 158.

[y] Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 111.

[z] Caſaub. in Athen. p. 301.

[a] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 17. &c.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[b] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 330.

[c] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530.

[d] Id. ibid. Patian. adv. Gent. § 37. p. 80.



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Arctinus, Stesichorus [e], Sacadas [f], and Lesches [g], who began his work by these emphatical words: *I sing the fortune of Priam, and the famous war* .... [h]. The same Lesches, in his little Iliad [i], and Dicæogenes, in his Cypriacs [k], described all the events of this war. The poems of the Heracleid and the Theseid omit none of the exploits of Hercules and Theseus [l]. These authors never understood the nature of the epic poem. They followed in the train of Homer; and were lost in his rays, as the stars vanish in the splendour of the sun.

Euclid had endeavoured to collect all the tragedies, comedies, and satires, which within near two hundred years had been represented in the theatres of Greece [m] and Sicily. He possessed about three thousand [n] *, yet his collection was not complete. What an exalted idea must we not hence conceive of the literature of the Greeks, and the fecundity of their genius! I often reckoned more than an hundred pieces which were the production of the same author. Among other singular works which Euclid pointed out to our attention, he showed us the Hippocentaur, a tragedy, in which Chæremon had not long before introduced, contrary to the received practice, all the different kinds of verse [o]. This novelty however did not meet with success.

The mimi were at first only obscene or satirical farces, which were represented on the stage. Their name was afterwards transferred to little poems which describe particular adventures [p]. They resemble comedy by their subject, but differ from it by their want of a plot, and sometimes by their

[e] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 9 et 597.
[f] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 9. p. 610. Meurs. Bibl. Græc. cap. 1.
[g] Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 25. p. 860.
[h] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 137.
[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 280.
[k] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 117. Aristot. de Poet. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 664; c. 23. p. 761. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 8. p. 682. Perizon. ad Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 15.
[l] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 658.
[m] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 398.
[n] Meurs. Bibl. Græc. et Attic. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. &c.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[o] Aristot. de Poet. t. ii. cap. 1. p. 653; cap. 24. p. 672.
[p] Voss. de Inst. Poet. lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 150.

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extreme licentiouſneſs [q]. There are ſome of them, however, which abound in a decent and exquiſite pleaſantry. Among the mimi which Euclid had collected, I found thoſe of Xenarchus, and thoſe of Sophron of Syracuſe [r]. The latter were much admired by Plato, who having received them from Sicily, made the Athenians acquainted with them; and on the day of his death they were found under the pillow of his bed [s *].

Before the diſcovery of the dramatic art, continued Euclid, thoſe poets to whom Nature had granted refined ſenſibility, but denied the talents requiſite for the epic poem, ſometimes pathetically deſcribed the calamities of nations, or the misfortunes of an ancient hero; and ſometimes deplored the death of a relation or a friend, and by indulging aſſuaged their grief. Their plaintive ſongs, almoſt always accompanied by the flute, were known under the name of Elegies or Lamentations [t].

The conſtruction of this kind of poetry is regularly irregular: I mean that verſes of ſix and five feet ſucceed each other alternately [u]. Its ſtyle ſhould be ſimple; for a heart really afflicted aims not to attract our admiration. The expreſſions ſhould ſometimes be ardent, like the cinders which cover a devouring fire, but ſhould not burſt forth into the exclamations and imprecations of deſpair. Nothing more effectually moves compaſſion than perfect gentleneſs in the extremity of ſuffering. Would you wiſh for the model of an elegy equally conciſe and affecting, you may find it in Euripides. Andromache, brought into Greece, throws herſelf at the feet of the ſtatue of Thetis, the mother of Achilles. She does not com-

[q] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 7. quæſt. 8. t. ii. p. 712. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. p. 448.

[r] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 653.

[s] Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 18. Menag. ibid. p. 146. Voſſ. ibid. cap. 33. p. 161.

[*] There ſeems reaſon to conjecture that ſome of the poems called *Mimi* were written in the manner of the tales of La Fontaine.

[t] Procl. Creſtom. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 984. Voſſ. de Inſtit. Poet. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 49. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. Hiſt. p. 277; t. vii. Mem. p. 337.

[u] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 75.



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plain of that hero; but, at the remembrance of the fatal day on which ſhe ſaw Hector dragged round the walls of Troy, her eyes overflow with tears. She accuſes Helen as the cauſe of all her woes; ſhe recals to mind the cruel perſecutions of Hermione; and, after having a ſecond time pronounced the name of her huſband, ſuffers her tears to flow in ſtill more copious ſtreams [x].

The elegy may ſooth our ſorrows when we are in misfortune, but it ought to inſpire us with courage when we are on the point of being attacked by calamity. It then aſſumes a more nervous tone; and, employing the moſt forcible images, compels us to bluſh at our cowardice, and envy the tears ſhed at the funeral of the hero who has ſacrificed his life in the ſervice of his country.

Thus was it that Tyrtæus revived the drooping ardour of the Spartans [y], and Callinus infuſed new vigour into the inhabitants of Epheſus [z]. Here are their elegies, and alſo the poem intituled Salamis, which Solon compoſed to engage the Athenians to retake the iſland of that name [a].

Wearied at length with lamenting the too real calamities of humanity, the elegiac poets applied themſelves to paint the gentler woes of Love [b]; and many of them have thus acquired a celebrity which they have reflected on their miſtreſſes. The charms of Nanno were ſung by Mimnermus of Colophon, who is ranked among the moſt eminent of our poets [c]; and the beautiful Battis is daily celebrated by Philetas of Cos [d], who, though yet young, has deſervedly acquired a great reputation. It is ſaid that his body is ſo waſted and feeble, that, to enable himſelf to withſtand the violence of the wind, he

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[x] Eurip. in Androm. v. 103.
[y] Stob. ſerm. 49. p. 353.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 355.
[a] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 81.
[b] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 76.
[c] Chamæl. ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 8. p. 620. Strab. lib. 14. p. 633 et 643. Suid. in Μίμνερ. Horat. lib. 2. epiſt 2. v. 101. Propert. lib. 1. eleg. 9. v. 11. Gyrald. de Poet. Hiſt. Dialog. 3 p. 161.
[d] Hermeſian. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 8. p. 598.

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is obliged to faſten plates of lead to his ſhoes [e]. The inhabitants of Cos, elated with the honour his poetical fame has reflected on his country, have erected to him, under a plane tree, a ſtatue of bronze [f].

I chanced to lay my hand on a volume, intitled *The Lydian*. That work, ſaid Euclid, is by Antimachus of Colophon, who lived in the laſt century [g], and who is likewiſe the author of the well known poem of the Thebaid [h]. He was violently enamoured of the beautiful Chryſeis, whom he followed into Lydia, of which country ſhe was a native, and where ſhe died in his arms. On his return home, he could find no other conſolation for his affliction, than to perpetuate it in his writings, and to give to this elegy the name which it bears [i].

I am acquainted with the Thebaid, anſwered I. Though the diſpoſition of that poem be not happy [k], and we meet with in it, from time to time, verſes of Homer tranſcribed almoſt word for word [l], I nevertheleſs allow that the author, in many reſpects, merits praiſe. Yet the inflation [m], harſhneſs, and I will venture to ſay, dryneſs, of the ſtyle [n], make me preſume that the writer did not poſſeſs ſufficient elegance of mind, or ſenſibility of heart [o], to intereſt us in the death of Chryſeis. But I will examine whether my conjecture be well founded. I therefore read the poem, while Euclid ſhowed to Lyſis the elegies of Archilochus, Simonides, Clonas, Ion [p], &c. When I had ended the peruſal of it—I perceive, ſaid I, that I was not miſtaken; Antimachus has arrayed his grief in pompous ornaments. Without perceiving that he

[e] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 13. p. 552. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 24.; lib. 10. cap. 6. Suid. in Φιλητ.

[f] Hermeſian. ibid.

[g] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 398. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 1289; lib. 2. v. 297, &c.

[h] Athen. lib. 11. p. 468, 475, et 482.

[i] Hermeſian. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 598. Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 106.

[k] Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 629.

[l] Porphyr. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. p. 467.

[m] Catull. de Cinn. et Voluſ. carm. lxxxvii.

[n] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. p. 150. Id. de Cenſ. Vet. Script. cap. 2. p. 419.

[o] Quintil. ibid.

[p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 352.



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has already found conſolation who ſeeks it in examples, he compares his woes to the ſufferings of the ancient heroes of Greece [q], and prolixly deſcribes the painful labours of the Argonauts in their expedition [r].

Archilochus, ſaid Lyſis, believed that he had found a more happy termination to his griefs in wine. His brother-in-law had periſhed at ſea; and, in ſome verſes which the poet compoſed on the occaſion, after having expreſſed ſome regret for his death, he ſoon haſtens to calm his grief: For in truth, ſays he, my tears cannot reſtore him to life, nor will our ſports and pleaſures in the leaſt increaſe the rigour of his fate [s].

Euclid made us obſerve that the mixture of verſes of ſix feet with thoſe of five was formerly only uſed in the elegy, properly ſo called; but that it was afterwards employed in different kinds of poetry. While he was producing ſome examples [t], he received a book which he had expected a long time. This was the Iliad in elegiac verſe, that is to ſay, to each line of Homer the writer had added a ſhorter verſe after his faſhion. The name of this author was Pigres; he was brother to the late queen of Caria—Artemiſia the wife of Mauſolus [u]; which, however, had not prevented him from producing the moſt extravagant and wretched work that perhaps exiſts.

Several ſhelves were filled with hymns to the gods, odes in honour of the victors in the various games of Greece, eclogues, ſongs, and a number of fugitive pieces.

The eclogue, ſaid Euclid, paints the pleaſures of the paſtoral life, and exhibits to us ſhepherds ſeated on the turf, on the banks of a ſtream, on the brow of a hill, or beneath the ſhade of an ancient tree, who ſometimes tune their pipes to the murmurs of the waters or the zephyrs; and ſometimes

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[q] Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 106.
[r] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 398. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 1289; lib. 3. v. 409; lib. 4. v. 259, &c.
[s] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 33.
[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 383.
[u] Suid. in Πίγρ.

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fing their loves, their innocent diſputes, their flocks, and the enchanting objects by which they are ſurrounded.

This kind of poetry has not made any progreſs among us. We muſt ſeek for its origin in Sicily [x]. There, at leaſt as we have heard, between mountains crowned with lofty oaks, a valley extends in which Nature has laviſhed her treaſures; and where, in the midſt of a laurel grove [y], was born the ſhepherd Daphnis, on whom the gods emulouſly beſtowed their favours. The Nymphs nurſed him in his infancy; he received from Venus grace and beauty, and from Mercury perſuaſive eloquence; Pan directed his fingers on the flute with ſeven pipes; and the Muſes modulated the accents of his harmonious voice. Soon collecting around him the ſhepherds of the diſtrict, he taught them to know and prize the happineſs of the paſtoral life. The reeds were converted into inſtruments of muſic. The echoes, animated by their ſound, repeated on every ſide the accents of tranquil and durable happineſs. Daphnis did not long enjoy the benefits of which he had been the author; he died in the prime of his years, the victim of love [z]; but even unto our time [a] his pupils have never ceaſed to celebrate his name, and to deplore the woes which terminated his life [b]. The paſtoral poem, of which it is ſaid he firſt conceived the idea, was afterwards brought to perfection by two Sicilian poets, Steſichorus of Himera, and Diomus of Syracuſe [c].

I can eaſily imagine, ſaid Lyſis, that this ſpecies of poem muſt preſent us with pleaſing landſcapes; but ſurely the ignoble figures which are introduced in them muſt ſtrangely detract from their beauty. In what manner can we be intereſted by rude ſhepherds, occupied in their mean employments? There was a time, anſwered Euclid, when the care of flocks was

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 283.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Voſſ. de Inſt. Poet. lib. 3. cap. 8. Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hiſt. p. 85; t. vi. Mem. p. 459.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 283.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 18. Theocr. Idyl. 1.
[c] Ælian. ibid. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 619.

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not confided to ſlaves, but the owners took this employment on themſelves, becauſe no other riches were then known. This fact is atteſted by tradition, which teaches us that men were ſhepherds before they were huſbandmen: it is alſo proved by the deſcriptions of the poets; who, notwithſtanding the licences in which they may indulge, have often preſerved to us a faithful tranſcript of ancient manners [d]. The ſhepherd Endymion was beloved by Diana; Paris watched on Mount Ida the flocks of his father Priam, king of Troy; and Apollo kept thoſe of king Admetus.

A poet may therefore, without offending againſt the rules of propriety, carry us back to remote ages, and conduct us into thoſe retreats where ſuch individuals as had received from their fathers a fortune proportionate to their wants, paſſed their peaceful days in harmleſs ſports; and protracted, if I may ſo ſpeak, their infancy to the end of their lives.

He may beſtow on his characters an emulation that ſhall give activity to their minds. They ſhall feel more than they ſhall think. Their language ſhall be always ſimple, natural, figurative, and more or leſs elevated according to the difference of conditions, which in the paſtoral life was governed by the nature of poſſeſſions; in the firſt claſs of which were placed cows, and next to theſe, ſheep, goats, and hogs [e]. But as the poet ought only to attribute to his ſhepherds mild paſſions and ſlight vices, he can only preſent us with a ſmall number of ſcenes; and the ſpectators will become diſguſted with a uniformity equally fatiguing with a ſea continually calm, and a ſky conſtantly ſerene.

From the want of motion and variety, the eclogue can never be ſo pleaſing to our taſte as that poetry in which the heart diſplays itſelf in the moment of pleaſure or of pain. I mean to ſpeak of ſongs, with the different kinds of which you

[d] Plat. de Leg. t. ii. p. 682.

[e] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iv. p. 534.

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are acquainted. I have divided them into two classes. The first contains the songs of the table [f], and the other those which are peculiar to certain professions and occupations; such as the songs of reapers, vintagers, millers, workers in wool, weavers, nurses, &c. [g]

The intoxication of wine, love, joy, or patriotism, characterize the former. They require a peculiar talent, which renders precepts unnecessary to those who have received it from Nature, and to those who have not, they would be useless. Pindar has composed drinking songs [h]; but those of Anacreon and Alcæus will always be sung. In the second class of songs, the recital of labours is softened by the recollection of certain circumstances, or the intimation of the advantages which they procure. I once heard a soldier, when half intoxicated, sing a military song, of which I rather remember the sense than the words:—"A spear, a sword, and a buckler compose all my treasure; yet I possess fields, harvests, and wine. I have seen men prostrate at my feet, who called me their sovereign and their master, for they had no spear, sword, nor buckler [i]."

What a progress may we not expect poetry to make in a country in which Nature, and the institutions of each city and state, incessantly incite lively and brilliant imaginations to display their powers with profusion! For it is not only to those poets who have been successful in the epopœia and the dramatic art, that the Greeks have erected statues, and rendered the still more valuable homage of rational esteem; illustrious honours are reserved for those who have excelled in any of the different kinds of lyric poetry. There is not a city which in the course of the year does not celebrate a number of festivals in honour of the gods; nor any festival which is not solemnized with new hymns, sung in the presence of all

[f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 320.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 347.
[h] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 427. Suid. in Πίνδ.
[i] Id. lib. 15. cap. 15. p. 695.

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the inhabitants, and by choruſes of youths taken from the principal families. What a motive for emulation is here offered to the poet! and how diſtinguiſhed is the honour he receives, when, by celebrating the victories of the athletæ, he himſelf merits the gratitude of their country! Let us tranſport him to a more illuſtrious theatre, and imagine him appointed to conclude by his ſongs the feſtivals of Olympia, or the other great ſolemnities of Greece. What muſt he feel, when twenty or thirty thouſand ſpectators, enchanted with his harmonious numbers, rend the ſkies with ſhouts of admiration and joy! No! the greateſt potentate on earth could never beſtow on genius a reward of ſuch ineſtimable value.

Hence ariſes that diſtinction, which, among us, the poets who contribute to the embelliſhment of our feſtivals enjoy, eſpecially when they preſerve in their compoſitions the peculiar character of the divinity whom they celebrate. For, relatively to its object, each ſpecies of ſong or hymn ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by a particular ſtyle and kind of muſic: if it is addreſſed to the ſovereign of the gods, it ſhould be grave and majeſtic; if to the muſes, it ſhould be expreſſed in the ſofteſt and moſt harmonious ſounds. The ancients punctually obſerved this juſt proportion; but the moderns, who believe themſelves to be wiſer than their anceſtors, becauſe in ſome things they have attained to a little more knowledge, have not been aſhamed to neglect it [k].—I have remarked, ſubjoined I, this conformity in your moſt trivial cuſtoms, when they may be traced back to a certain antiquity; and I have admired your firſt legiſlators, who early perceived that it was better to enchain your liberty by forms than by reſtraint. I have even obſerved, in ſtudying the origin of nations, that the empire of cuſtoms and rites has every where preceded that of laws. Cuſtoms are like guides who lead us by the hand through paths which are frequently trodden; while the laws

[k] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1133. Lettr. ſur la Muſique, par M. l'Abbé Arnaud, p. 16.

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are like thoſe maps in which the roads are marked out by a ſingle ſtroke, without any regard to their windings.

I ſhall not read to you, reſumed Euclid, the tireſome liſt of all the authors who have ſucceeded in lyric poetry; but I will name to you the principal. Theſe are Steſichorus, Ibycus, Alcæus, Alcman, Simonides, Bacchylides, Anacreon, and Pindar. Several of the female ſex have alſo cultivated a ſpecies of writing ſo ſuſceptible of graces; and among theſe are diſtinguiſhed Sappho, Erinna, Teleſilla, Praxilla, Myrtis, and Corinna [l].

Before I proceed any farther, I ought to ſpeak to you of a kind of poem in which that enthuſiaſm of which we have ſpoken is frequently diſplayed: I mean hymns in honour of Bacchus, known by the name of Dithyrambics. Both the writer and ſinger of them ſhould be under the influence of a kind of delirium [m]; for they are appropriated to direct certain animated and violent dances, which are moſt frequently performed in a round [n].

This ſpecies of poem is eaſily known by peculiar properties which diſtinguiſh it from every other [o]. To pourtray at once the qualities and relations of an object, it is frequently permitted to combine ſeveral words into one; which licence ſometimes gives birth to words of ſuch length and intricacy as to fatigue the ear, but ſo ſonorous as to agitate the imagination [p]. Metaphors, which ſeem to have no relation, ſucceed without following each other. The author, who proceeds only by impetuous ſtarts, diſcerns, but neglects to mark, the connection of his ideas. Sometimes he departs from every rule of art; and ſometimes employs the different meaſures of verſe, and the various kinds of modulation [q].

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[l] Voſſ. de Inſt. Poet. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 80.

[m] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 534. Id. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.

[n] Procl. Chreſtom. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 985. Pind. in Olymp. 13. v. 25. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1403.

[o] Schmidt. de Dithyr. ad calc. edit. Pind. p. 251. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 307.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 831. Schol. ibid. Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 587, E. Suid. in Διφυες, et in Ἐνδιαιρε.

[q] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verbor. § 19. t. v. p. 131.

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Whilſt, under favour of theſe licences, the man of genius diſplays to our eyes the immenſe riches of poetry, his feeble imitators diſcover to us its empty oſtentation. Without animation, and without intereſt, and becoming obſcure while they labour to appear profound, they diffuſe over common ideas colours that are ſtill more common. The greater part, from the beginning of their pieces, ſeek to dazzle us by the magnificence of images drawn from meteors and the celeſtial phenomena [r]. Hence that pleaſantry of Ariſtophanes, who in one of his comedies introduces a man whom he ſuppoſes to have lately come down from the heavens. He is aſked what he ſaw there? to which queſtion he replies: "Two or three dithyrambic poets running about among the winds and clouds, to collect vapours and whirlwinds of which to make their prologues [s]." He elſewhere compares the expreſſions of theſe poets to air bubbles, which, when they are pierced, burſt with a loud crack [t].

Here alſo we ſee the power of certain conventions. The ſame poet, who, when he celebrates Apollo, ſooths his mind to tranquil harmony, agitates his ſoul with violence when he prepares to ſing the praiſes of Bacchus; and if his imagination be ſlow to imbibe the poetic flame, he adds to it new heat by the immoderate uſe of wine [u]. Struck with this liquor [*] as with a thunder-bolt, ſaid Archilochus, I triumphantly begin my career [x].

Euclid had collected the dithyrambics of the latter poet [y], and thoſe of Arion [z], Laſus [a], Pindar [b], Melanippides [c], Phi-

[r] Suid. in Διφυες.

[s] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1383. Schol. ibid. Id. in Pac. v. 829. Schol. ibid. Flor. Chriſtian. ibid. v. 177.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 251. Schol. ibid. Voſſ. de Inſtit. Poet. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 88.

[u] Philoch. et Epicharm. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 628.

[*] The text ſays, "thunderſtruck with wine."

[x] Archil. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 628.

[y] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 628.

[z] Herodot lib. 1. cap. 23. Suid. in Ἀρίων.

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 365. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 7. cap. 47.

[b] Strab. lib. 9. p. 404. Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. p. 152. Suid. in Πίνδ.

[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 725.

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Ioxenus [d], Timotheus, Teleſtes, Polyidus [e], Ion [f], and many others, the greater number of whom have lived in our time. For this kind of poetry, which tends to the ſublime, has a peculiar charm for poets whoſe abilities do not exceed mediocrity; and as every individual now endeavours to raiſe himſelf above his actual condition in life, every author, in like manner, wiſhes to elevate his ſtyle above his real powers.

I afterwards ſaw a collection of impromptus [g], enigmas, acroſtics, and all ſorts of *griphi* [h] *. In ſome of the laſt pages I obſerved the figures of an egg, an altar, a two-edged ax, and the wings of love. On examining them more cloſely, I perceived they were pieces of poetry, compoſed of verſes of ſuch different lengths as to pourtray theſe various objects. In the egg, for example, the two firſt verſes were of three ſyllables each, and the following continually lengthened till they came to a certain meaſure; from which they decreaſed in the ſame proportion, till they ended, as they had begun, in two verſes of three ſyllables [i]. Simmias of Rhodes had enriched literature with theſe productions equally puerile and laborious.

Lyſis, who was paſſionately enamoured of poetry, was conſtantly in fear leſt it ſhould be claſſed among the number of frivolous amuſements; and having perceived that Euclid had more than once declared that a poet ought not to flatter himſelf that he ſhall be able to obtain ſucceſs when he poſſeſſes not the talents requiſite to pleaſe, he exclaimed, in a moment of impatience—It is poetry which has civilized mankind, which inſtructed my childhood, which tempers the ſeverity of precepts, which renders virtue more amiable by beſtowing on her new graces, which elevates my ſoul in the epic poem,

[d] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 132. Suid. in Φιλόξ.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 273.
[f] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 835. Schol. ibid.
[g] Simon. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 35. p. 125.
[h] Call. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 20. p. 453. Theſ. Epiſt. Lacrozian. t. iii. p. 257.
* A kind of riddles (*logogriphes*). See note at the end of the volume.
[i] Salmaſ. ad Doſiad. aras; Simmiæ ovum, &c. p. 183.



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inſpires me with tenderneſs at the theatre, fills me with a holy awe in our ſacred ceremonies, invites to joy during our repaſts, and animates my courage in the preſence of the enemy; and, even though the fictions of poetry ſhould be confined to calming the unquiet activity of our imagination, muſt not that be a real good which procures us ſome innocent pleaſures amid the multitude of evils of which I inceſſantly hear ſo many complaints?

Euclid ſmiled at this ſudden tranſport; and, ſtill more to excite it, replied—I know that Plato ſuperintended a part of your education: can you have forgotten that he conſidered poetical fictions as falſe and dangerous pictures, which, by degrading the gods and heroes, only preſent phantoms of virtue to our imitation [k]?

If it were poſſible that I ſhould forget Plato, replied Lyſis, his writings would ſoon again recal him to my memory; but I muſt confeſs that I ſometimes believe I am convinced by the ſtrength of his reaſoning, when I am only captivated by the charms of his poetical ſtyle. At other times, when I ſee him employing againſt imagination the weapons which he has borrowed from it, I am tempted to accuſe him of ingratitude and perfidy. Do not you believe, ſaid he to me, that the firſt and principal object of the poets is to inſtruct us in our duties by the allurement of pleaſure? I anſwered—Since I have lived among enlightened men, and ſtudied the conduct of thoſe who aſpire to celebrity, I only examine what is the ſecondary motive of their actions; for the firſt is almoſt always either intereſt or vanity. But, without entering into theſe diſcuſſions, I will tell you ſimply what I think:—Poets wiſh to pleaſe [l], and poetry may be uſeful.

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k Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 387, &c. Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 599, &c.

l Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 659; cap. 14. p. 662, D. Voſſ. de Art. Poet. Nat. cap. 8. p. 42.

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## CHAP. LXXXI.

*Continuation of the Library.—Morals.*

THE ſcience of morals, ſaid Euclid, was formerly only a ſeries of maxims. Pythagoras and his firſt diſciples, ever attentive to aſcend to the cauſes of things, founded morality on principles too much elevated above vulgar minds [m]: it then became a ſcience; and man was known, at leaſt as much as it was poſſible for him to be; but he was ſo no longer, when the ſophiſts extended their doubts over the truths of greateſt utility. Socrates, perſuaded that we were created rather to act than to think, attached himſelf leſs to theory than practice. He rejected abſtract notions; and, under this point of view, it may be ſaid that he cauſed philoſophy to deſcend to earth [n]. His diſciples explained his doctrine; and introduced into it ideas ſo ſublime, that they cauſed morality again to aſcend to heaven. The ſchool of Pythagoras judged it proper ſometimes to lay aſide its myſterious language, to inſtruct us concerning our paſſions and our duties. This was done with ſucceſs by Theages, Metopus, and Archytas [o].

I found different treatiſes by theſe authors placed before the books which Ariſtotle has written on manners. When ſpeaking of the education of the Athenians, I have endeavoured to explain the doctrine of the latter, which is perfectly ſimilar to that of the former. I ſhall now proceed to give ſome obſervations which Euclid had derived from the various works which he had collected.

The word *virtue* originally only ſignified ſtrength and vigour of body [p]; in which ſenſe Homer has ſaid, the *virtue* of a horſe [q]; and we ſtill ſay, the *virtue* of a piece of ground [r].

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[m] Ariſtot. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 145.
[n] Cicer. Tuſcul. cap. 4. t. iii. p. 361.
[o] Stob. paſſim.
[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15. v. 642.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 23. v. 374
[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 2.



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In proceſs of time, this word was employed to denote whatever is moſt valuable in an object. It is at preſent uſed to ſignify the qualities of the mind, and more frequently thoſe of the heart [s].

Man, in ſolitude, can have only two ſentiments, deſire and fear; and all his motions muſt be reducible to purſuit or flight [t]. In ſociety, theſe two ſentiments may be exerciſed on a great number of objects, and divided into ſeveral ſpecies; and hence ariſe ambition, hatred, and the other emotions by which the human mind is agitated. But though Nature originally beſtowed on man deſire and fear only for his own preſervation, it is now required of him that all his paſſions ſhould concur to the preſervation of others, as well as of himſelf; and when, under the guidance of ſound reaſon, they produce this happy effect, they become virtues.

Of theſe, four principal ones are diſtinguiſhed—fortitude, juſtice, prudence, and temperance [u]. This diviſion, with which every perſon is acquainted, argues great knowledge and diſcernment in thoſe by whom it was firſt made. The two former, more eſteemed, becauſe they are of more general utility, tend to the maintenance of ſociety; fortitude during war, and juſtice during peace [x]. The two others tend to our particular utility. In a climate in which the imagination is ſo lively, and the paſſions are ſo ardent, prudence ought to be eſteemed the firſt quality of the mind, and temperance the firſt of the heart.

Lyſis now aſked, whether the philoſophers were divided on certain points in morals. Sometimes, replied Euclid; the following are examples:

It is eſtabliſhed as a principle, that an action, to be virtuous or vicious, muſt be voluntary; it has therefore ſince been made a queſtion, how far we act without conſtraint. Some

[s] Ariſtot. Eudem. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 202.

[t] Id. de Animâ, lib. 3. cap. 10. t. i. p. 657, D.

[u] Archyt. ap. Stob. ſerm 1. p. 14. Plat. de Leg. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 964, B.

[x] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 531, A.

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authors excuſe the crimes occaſioned by love and anger; becauſe, according to them, theſe paſſions are ſtronger than we are [y]. They might cite in favour of their opinion the extraordinary deciſion pronounced in one of our courts of juſtice:—A ſon who had ſtruck his father was brought to trial, and alleged in his defence, that his father had ſtruck his grandfather. The judges, perſuaded that the violence of diſpoſition muſt be hereditary, acquitted the criminal [z]. But other more enlightened philoſophers inveigh againſt ſuch deciſions. No paſſion, ſay they, has power to hurry us away in deſpite of ourſelves; every force by which we are conſtrained is exterior and foreign to us [a].

Is it permitted us to take vengeance on our enemies? Beyond a doubt, reply ſome: for it is conformable to juſtice to repulſe outrage by outrage [b]. Yet pure virtue finds more magnanimity in forgiving and forgetting injuries. She has dictated theſe maxims, which we find in many authors, Speak not evil of your enemies [c]; far from endeavouring to harm them, ſeek to convert their hatred into friendſhip [d]. "I wiſh to revenge myſelf," ſaid ſome one to Diogenes; "tell me by what means I may beſt effect my purpoſe."—"By becoming more virtuous," anſwered the philoſopher [e].

Socrates converted this advice into a rigorous precept. From the utmoſt elevation to which human wiſdom can attain, he proclaimed to mankind, "It is not permitted to you to render evil for evil [f]."

Certain nations have allowed ſuicide [g]; but Pythagoras and Socrates, whoſe authority is ſuperior to that of theſe nations,

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[y] Ariſtot. Eudem. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 212, D.

[z] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 178, A.

[a] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 30; cap. 7. p. 33 Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 15 t. ii. p. 156.

[b] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 531, E.

[c] Pittac. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 78.

[d] Cleob. ap. eund. lib. 1. § 91. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218, A. Themiſt Orat. 7. p 95

[e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. E.

[f] Plat. in Crit t. i. p. 49.

[g] Srab. lib. 10. p 486. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 37. et alii.



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maintain, that no perſon has a right to deſert the poſt which the gods have aſſigned to him in life [h].

The inhabitants of commercial cities derive a profit from the loan of their money; but, in the plan of a republic founded on virtue, Plato has ordained that money ſhall be lent without requiring any intereſt [i].

In every age, praiſes have been beſtowed on probity, purity of manners, and beneficence; and in every age, murder, adultery, perjury, and every kind of vice, have been condemned. The moſt corrupted writers are compelled to teach a ſound morality, and the moſt daring to deny the conſequences which are drawn from their principles; not one of them would have the effrontery to maintain that it is better to commit than to ſuffer an injuſtice [k].

That our duties are traced out in our laws, and by our authors, will not excite your ſurpriſe; but when you ſtudy the ſpirit of our inſtitutions, you will not be able to withhold your admiration. The feſtivals, ſpectacles, and arts, had originally, among us, a moral object, of which it will be eaſy to follow the traces. Cuſtoms which appear indifferent, ſometimes afford an inſtructive leſſon. The temples of the Graces are erected in places where they may be viſible to every eye, becauſe gratitude cannot be too conſpicuous [l]. Even in the mechaniſm of our language, the lights of inſtinct or of reaſon have introduced ſome precious truths. Among thoſe ancient forms of polite expreſſion which we place at the beginning of a letter, and which we employ on other occaſions, there is one that merits attention. Inſtead of ſaying, *I ſalute you*, I ſay only, *Do good* [m]; which is to wiſh you the greateſt poſſible happineſs. The ſame word * is applied to the man who is

h Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Cicer. de Senec. cap. 20. t. iii. p. 318.

i Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 742.

k Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 8. cap. 9. t. i. p. 375.

l Id. de Mor. lib. 5. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 64, D.

m Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 149.

* Ἀγαθὸς, which may be tranſlated *excellent*.

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diſtinguiſhed either for valour or virtue, becauſe courage is as neceſſary to the latter as the former. Do we wiſh to convey the idea of a man perfectly virtuous; we attribute to him beauty and goodneſs[n]*; that is to ſay, the two qualities which moſt attract admiration and confidence.

Before I conclude this article, it will be proper to ſpeak to you of a ſpecies of compoſition, on which, within theſe few years, our writers have exerciſed their abilities; I mean the deſcription of characters[o]. Obſerve, for example, in what colours Ariſtotle has pourtrayed greatneſs of mind[p].

"We call him magnanimous, whoſe mind, naturally elevated, is neither dazzled by proſperity nor depreſſed by adverſity[q].

"Among all external goods, he only ſets a value on that reſpect which is acquired and beſtowed by honour. The moſt important diſtinctions merit not to excite his tranſports, becauſe they are his due. He would renounce them ſooner than receive them on trivial occaſions, or from perſons whom he deſpiſes[r].

"As he is unacquainted with fear, his hatred, his friendſhip, and all his words and actions, are undiſguiſed: but his hatred is not laſting; and as he is convinced that the injury intended him can do him no harm, he frequently diſregards, and at length forgets it[s].

"He loves to perform actions which may be tranſmitted to poſterity; but he never ſpeaks of himſelf, becauſe he loves not praiſe. He is more deſirous to render than to receive ſervices, and even in his leaſt actions a character of grandeur is diſcernible: if he makes acquiſitions, or if he wiſhes to

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[n] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 186, A.

* Καλὸς καγαθὸς, *fair and good.*

[o] Ariſtot Theophr. &c. &c.

[p] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 49. Id. Eudem. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 223.

[q] Id. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 50.

[r] Id. ibid. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 162.

[s] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 51.



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gratify the taſtes of individuals, he is more attentive to beauty than utility [t]."

I here interrupted Euclid: Add, ſaid I, that, when charged with the ſuperintendence of the intereſts of a great ſtate, he diſplays in his enterpriſes and his treaties all the elevation of his mind; that to maintain the honour of his nation, far from having recourſe to low and contemptible means, he employs only firmneſs, frankneſs, and ſuperiority of genius; and you will have ſketched the portrait of that Arſames with whom I paſſed in Perſia ſuch happy days, and who, among all the virtuous inhabitants of that extenſive empire, was the only one who was not afflicted at his diſgrace.

I ſpoke to Euclid of another portrait, which was ſhown me in Perſia, and of which I only recollected the following features.

I dedicate to the conſort of Arſames that homage which truth owes to virtue. To deſcribe her wit, it would be neceſſary to poſſeſs as much as herſelf; but to pourtray her wit would not ſuffice; a ſoul of equal virtue and benevolence would be requiſite.

Phedime inſtantaneouſly diſcerns the differences and relations of an object, and is able to expreſs them by a ſingle word. She ſometimes ſeems to recollect what ſhe has never learned. From a few ideas ſhe would be able to give the hiſtory of the wanderings of the mind; but ſhe would be unable, even from a multiplicity of examples, to give that of the wanderings of the heart; her own is too pure and ſimple ever to conceive them.

She might without bluſhing contemplate the entire ſeries of her thoughts and actions during her whole life. Her example proves, that the virtnes in uniting make but one; and it alſo proves that ſuch virtue is the ſureſt means of acquiring general eſteem without exciting envy.

[t] Id. ibid.

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To that intrepid fortitude which gives energy of character, ſhe adds a beneficence equally active and inexhauſtible; her ſoul, ever in action, ſeems only to exiſt for the happineſs of others.

She has only one ambition; that of giving pleaſure to her huſband. If in her youth any one had extolled the beauties of her perſon, and thoſe good qualities of which I have endeavourd to convey a feeble idea, ſhe would have felt a leſs lively ſatisfaction, than if he had ſpoken to her of Arſames.

## CHAP. LXXXII.

*New Enterpriſes of Philip. Battle of Chæronea. Portrait of Alexander.*

GREECE had attained to the ſummit of her glory, and was now to deſcend to that point of humiliation fixed by the deſtiny which inceſſantly agitates the balance of empires. This decline, which had long been apparent, was extremely ſenſible during my ſtay in Perſia, and exceſſively rapid ſome years after. I ſhall haſten to the cataſtrophe of this great revolution, abridging the narrative of facts, and ſometimes only making extracts from the journal of my travels.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF NICOMACHUS,

The 4th year of the 109th Olympiad,

*(From the 30th of June of the year 341 to the 19th of July of the year 340 before Chriſt.)*

PHILIP had again formed the deſign of ſeizing on the iſland of Eubœa by his intrigues, and on the city of Megara by the arms of the Bœotians, his allies. In poſſeſſion of theſe two important poſts, he muſt ſoon have become maſter of the city of Athens. Phocion had made a ſecond expedition into

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Eubœa, and driven out the tyrants ſet up by Philip. He afterward marched to the ſuccour of the Megareans, defeated the projects of the Bœotians, and freed the city from danger [u].

If Philip ſhould conquer the Grecian cities which are on the frontiers of his dominions, on the ſide of the Helleſpont and the Propontis, he would have in his power the trade for corn which the Athenians carry on in the Pontus Euxinus, and which is abſolutely neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence [x]. With this view he had attacked the ſtrong town of Perinthus. The beſieged made a reſiſtance deſerving the higheſt eulogiums. They expected ſuccours from the king of Perſia, and have received ſome from the Byzantines [y]. Philip, highly irritated againſt the latter, has raiſed the ſiege of Perinthus, and ſat down under the walls of Byzantium, the inhabitants of which have immediately ſent off deputies to Athens. They have obtained ſhips and ſoldiers commanded by Chares [z].

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## In the Archonship of Theophrastus.

The 1ſt year of the 110th Olympiad,

*(From the 19th of July of the year* 340 *to the 8th of July of the year* 339 *before Chriſt.)*

Greece has produced in my time ſeveral great men who do her honour, and eſpecially three of whom ſhe may be proud; Epaminondas, Timoleon, and Phocion. I had but a glimpſe of the two firſt, but I was intimately acquainted with the latter. I frequently viſited him in the ſmall houſe in which he reſided, in the quarter of Melite [a]. I ever found him different from other men, but always reſembling himſelf. When I felt my mind dejected at the ſight of the various fol-

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[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 446. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 748.
[x] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 487.
[y] Diod. Sic. ibid.
[z] Id. lib. 16. p. 468.
[a] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750.



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lies and crimes which degrade humanity, I went to seek relief for a moment in his conversation, and I returned more tranquil and more virtuous.

*The 13th of Anthesterion.* I yesterday was present at the representation of a new tragedy [b], which was suddenly interrupted. The performer who acted the part of the queen, refused to appear, unless attended by a more numerous retinue. When the spectators began to express their impatience, the manager, Melanthius, pushed the performer on the middle of the stage, exclaiming: "You require me to give you more attendants, and yet the wife of Phocion has only one when she appears in the streets of Athens [c]." These words, which were heard by the whole audience, were received with such loud bursts of applause, that, without waiting for the conclusion of the piece, I made all possible haste to the house of Phocion; where I found him drawing water from a well, and his wife kneading dough to make bread for the family [d]. At this sight I felt the liveliest emotion, and related with still more warmth what had just passed at the theatre. They heard me with indifference, as indeed I might have expected they would. Phocion paid but little regard to the praises of the Athenians, and his wife enjoyed greater pleasure in recollecting the noble actions of her husband, than in hearing the just applauses bestowed on them by his countrymen [e].

He was disgusted with the inconstancy of the people, and still more filled with indignation at the meanness of the public orators. While he was speaking to me on the greediness of the one and the vanity of the others, Demosthenes came in, and they entered into a conversation on the state of Greece at that time. Demosthenes wished to declare war against Philip, and Phocion to preserve peace.

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[b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 176 et 183.
[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 749.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 750. Id. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1134.

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The latter was perſuaded that the loſs of a battle muſt be followed by the conqueſt of Athens; that a victory would protract a war which the Athenians were too corrupted to be any longer in a condition to maintain; that far from irritating Philip, and furniſhing him with a pretext to enter Attica, ſound policy required that they ſhould wait till he ſhould exhauſt his ſtrength in diſtant expeditions, and ſuffer him to continue to expoſe a life, the termination of which would be the ſalvation of the republic.

Demoſthenes could not conſent to lay down the brilliant part he had acted. Since the laſt peace, two men of different genius, but equal obſtinacy, had entered into a conteſt which attracted the eyes of all Greece. On the one ſide was ſeen a ſovereign, ambitious to extend his dominion over all nations, ſubjugating ſome by his arms, and ſowing diſſenſions among others by his emiſſaries; himſelf, though covered with ſcars, inceſſantly braving new dangers, and ready to ſurrender to Fortune whatever part of his body ſhe ſhould chooſe, provided he might be permitted to live in glory with the remainder [f]: and on the other, a private individual, laboriouſly ſtruggling againſt the indolence of the Athenians, the blindneſs of their allies, the jealouſy of their orators; oppoſing vigilance to craft, eloquence to armies; making his voice reſound through all Greece, and inceſſantly warning all its ſtates aſſiduouſly to watch every motion of the king of Macedon [g]; ſending on all ſides ambaſſadors, troops, and fleets, to oppoſe his enterpriſes, and ſucceeding ſo far as to make himſelf feared by the moſt formidable of conquerors [h].

But the ambition of Demoſthenes, which did not eſcape Phocion, was artfully concealed under the motives that he alleged ought to induce the Athenians to take arms; motives which I have more than once explained, and which theſe two orators diſcuſſed anew in the conference at which I was pre-

[f] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 483, C.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 480.
[h] Lucian. in Demoſth. Encom. cap. 37. t. iii p. 518.



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ſent. They both ſpoke with great vehemence; Demoſthenes always with reſpect, and Phocion ſometimes with aſperity. As they were unable to agree, the former ſaid, as he was going away: "The Athenians in ſome fit of frenzy will put you to death." "And you," replied the latter, "ſhould they recover their ſenſes [i]."

*The 16th of Antheſterion* [*]. This day four deputies have been named for the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, which is to be held in the enſuing ſpring at Delphi [k].

*The* . . . . . †. A general aſſembly has been held here. The Athenians, in the midſt of their alarm at the ſiege of Byzantium, have received a letter from Philip; in which he accuſes them of having violated ſeveral articles of the treaty of peace and alliance which they ſigned ſeven years ago [l]. Demoſthenes has made an harangue, and by his advice, which has been ineffectually combated by Phocion, the people have voted to break the column on which this treaty was inſcribed, to equip ſhips, and make preparations for war [m].

Some days before, information was received that the people of Byzantium would rather chooſe to have no ſuccours ſent them by the Athenians, than to admit within their walls troops commanded by a general ſo deteſted as Chares [n]. The people have therefore appointed Phocion to take his place.

*The 30th of Elaphebolion.* In the laſt aſſembly of the Amphictyons, a citizen of Amphiſſa, the capital of the Ozolian Locrians, ſituated at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia from Delphi, uttered the moſt violent invectives againſt the Athenians, and propoſed to condemn them to a fine of fifty talents ‡, for having formerly hung up in the temple ſome gilt

[i] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745, E.
[*] The 26th of February of the year 339 before Chriſt.
[k] Æſchin in Ctef. p. 446. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 498.
† About the ſame time.
[l] Liter. Phil. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 114. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 740.
[m] Demoſth. Orat. ad Phil. Epiſt. p. 117. Philoch. ap. Dionyſ. Halic t. vi. p. 741.
[n] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
‡ 270,000 livres (11,250 l.)

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bucklers, as monuments of their victories over the Medes and Thebans [o]. Æſchines, wiſhing to divert this accuſation, repreſented, that the inhabitants of Amphiſſa, having ſeized on the port of Cirrha and the neighbouring lands, a country originally conſecrated to the temple, had incurred the puniſhment decreed againſt ſacrilege. The next day, the deputies of the league, followed by a great number of Delphians, deſcended into the plain, burnt the houſes, and in part filled up the port. The people of Amphiſſa ran to arms, and purſued the aggreſſors to the gates of Delphi.

The Amphictyons, filled with indignation, meditate a ſignal vengeance. Sentence will be pronounced in the council of Thermopylæ, which uſually meets in autumn, but which this year will be held more early [p].

This war was unexpected. Philip is ſuſpected of having excited it, and ſome accuſe Æſchines of having acted in concert with that prince [q].

*The*..... Phocion encamped under the walls of Byzantium. As the integrity and virtue of that general is univerſally known, the magiſtrates of the city introduced his troops into the place. Their courage and diſcipline inſpired the inhabitants with new confidence, and compelled Philip to raiſe the ſiege. To cover the ſhame of his retreat, he alleged that his honour obliged him to revenge an inſult which he had received from a tribe of the Scythians. But before he went, he was careful to renew the peace with the Athenians [r], who immediately forgot the decrees they had paſſed, and the preparations they had made againſt him.

*The*..... Two decrees have been read in the general aſſembly, one paſſed by the Byzantines, and the other by ſome cities of the Helleſpont. The purport of the former is, that, in gratitude for the ſuccours which the people of By-

[o] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 446. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 19. p. 843.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 447.
[q] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 497. E.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 408.

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zantium and Perinthus have received from the Athenians, they grant to them the freedom of their cities, permiſſion to contract alliances and acquire lands and houſes in them, the right of precedence at the public ſpectacles, and many other privileges. Three ſtatues of ſixteen cubits * each in height, are to be erected at the Boſphorus, repreſenting the people of Athens crowned by thoſe of Byzantium and Perinthus [s]. In the ſecond decree, it is ſaid that four cities of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, having been protected againſt Philip by the generoſity of the Athenians, have reſolved to preſent them with a crown of the value of ſixty talents †, and to erect two altars, one to Gratitude, and the other to the people of Athens [t].

## In the Archonship of Lysimachides.

The 2d year of the 110th Olympia,

*(From the 8th of July of the year 339 to the 28th of June of the year 338 before Chriſt.)*

*The*.... ‡. In the aſſembly held at Thermopylæ, the Amphictyons have decreed that troops ſhall immediately march againſt the people of Amphiſſa, and have appointed Cottyphus general of the league. The Athenians and Thebans, who diſapprove of this war, have not ſent deputies to the aſſembly: Philip is ſtill in Scythia, and will not ſoon return [u]; but it is preſumed that, even from thoſe diſtant regions, he has directed all the operations of the council.

The unhappy inhabitants of Amphiſſa, vanquiſhed in a firſt battle §, had ſubmitted to humiliating conditions: far, however, from fulfilling them, they have, in a ſecond battle, re-

* 22 feet 8 inches, Fr. (23 feet 9 inches Engliſh).

[s] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 487.

† 324,000 livres (13,500 l.) This ſum is ſo great that I ſuſpect the text is corrupted in this place.

[t] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 488.

‡ About the month of Auguſt of the year 339 before Chriſt.

[u] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 448.

§ In the ſpring of the year 338 before Chriſt.

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pulſed the army of the league, and even wounded the general. This happened a ſhort time before the laſt meeting of the Amphictyons, which was held at Delphi. Some Theſſalians in the pay of Philip have intrigued with ſuch ſucceſs [x], that he is appointed by the council to revenge the outrages committed on the temple of Delphi [y]. By the firſt ſacred war he obtained a ſeat in the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and this will place him permanently at the head of a confederation which may not be reſiſted without incurring the guilt of impiety. The Thebans can no longer diſpute with him the paſs of Thermopylæ. They nevertheleſs begin to penetrate his views; and, as he diſtruſts their intentions, he has commanded the ſtates of Peloponneſus, which make a part of the Amphictyonic body, to aſſemble in the month of Boedromion *, with arms and proviſions for forty days [z].

Diſcontent is general throughout Greece. Sparta obſerves a profound ſilence. The Athenians are undetermined and fearful. In one of the aſſemblies of the latter, it was propoſed to conſult the Pythia. "*She Philippizes*," exclaimed Demoſthenes [a]; and the propoſition fell to the ground.

In another aſſembly, it was ſaid that the prieſteſs, when interrogated, had anſwered that all the Athenians were of the ſame opinion except one. The partiſans of Philip had ſuggeſted this oracle to render Demoſthenes odious to the people; but he diverted the blow, by applying it to Æſchines. To end theſe puerile debates, Phocion ſaid to them: "I am the man you ſeek, for I approve of nothing that you do [b]."

*The 25th of Elaphebolion* †. The danger becomes every day more imminent, and the fears of the people increaſe in proportion. Thoſe Athenians who laſt year reſolved to break the treaty of peace which they had made with Philip, have

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[x] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 498.
[y] Id. p. 499.
* This month began on the 26th of Auguſt of the year 338 before Chriſt.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 449. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 854.
[b] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.
† The 27th of March of the year 338 before Chriſt.

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ſent ambaſſadors to him [c], to engage him to obſerve this treaty, at leaſt till the month Thargelion *.

*The 1ſt of Munychion* †. Other ambaſſadors have been ſent to the king of Macedon, for the ſame purpoſe [d], and have brought back his anſwer, in which he ſays that he is not ignorant that the Athenians have endeavoured to detach from their alliance with him the Theſſalians, Bœotians, and Thebans. He is willing to grant their requeſt, and ſign a truce, but on condition that they no longer liſten to the pernicious counſels of their orators [e].

*The 13th of Scirophorion* ‡. Philip has paſſed the ſtrait of Thermopylæ, and entered Phocis. The neighbouring ſtates were ſeized with terror; but as he ſolemnly declared that he only intended to attack the Locrians, they began to recover their confidence; when, on a ſudden, he fell upon Elatea [f], which is one of the cities he was moſt careful to ſpare when he concluded the war with the Phocians. He intends here to eſtabliſh and fortify himſelf. Perhaps he has even continued his march; in which caſe, if the Thebans, his allies, do not obſtruct his progreſs, we ſhall ſee him, in two days, under the walls of Athens [g].

The news of the taking of Elatea arrived this day. The Prytanes § were at ſupper. They immediately roſe from table, to conſult on convening the aſſembly on the next day. Some ſent for the generals, and the trumpeter ‖; others ran to the forum, drove the traders from their ſtations, and ſet

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[c] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 500.

* This month began on the 30th of April in the year 338 before Chriſt.

† The 31ſt of March.

[d] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 500.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 501.

‡ The 12th of June.

[f] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 498.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 474.

§ Theſe were fifty ſenators, who lodged in the Prytaneum, to watch over the important affairs of the ſtate, and convene, when requiſite, the general aſſembly.

‖ Poſſibly (ſays Dr. Leland, in a note to his Tranſlation of the Oration of Demoſthenes on the Crown) to ſummon the aſſembly on this extraordinary occaſion, when there was no leiſure nor opportunity for the regular and uſual method of convening the citizens. T.



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fire to their ſheds [h] *. The city is one ſcene of tumult, and a mortal terror has ſeized on all minds.

*The 16th of Sciropborion.* During the night the generals have haſtened from every quarter, and the trumpet has ſounded through all the ſtreets [i]. At the break of day, the ſenators aſſembled, without coming to any determination. The people waited for them with impatience in the forum. The Prytanes have announced the intelligence they have received, which has been confirmed by the courier, in the preſence of the generals and orators. The herald advanced, and aſked, in the uſual form, if any one choſe to ſpeak. All was terrifying ſilence. The herald repeated ſeveral times the ſame words. The ſilence ſtill continued, and all eyes were anxiouſly turned towards Demoſthenes. He aroſe. "If Philip," ſaid he, "had completely gained over the Thebans to his intereſt, he would now be on the frontiers of Attica. His intention in ſeizing a place ſo near to their territories, was certainly only to unite the two factions into which they are divided in his favour, by inſpiring his adherents with confidence, and terrifying his enemies. To prevent this union, it behoves us to forget all the ſubjects of animoſity which have ſo long exiſted between us and Thebes our rival; to ſhow to her the danger by which ſhe is threatened, and an army ready to march to her aſſiſtance; to unite, if poſſible, with her, by an alliance and oaths, which may ſecure the ſafety of the two republics and that of all Greece."

He afterward propoſed a decree, of which the following are the principal articles: "After having implored the aſſiſtance of the gods who are the protectors of Attica, two hundred ſhips ſhall be equipped; the generals ſhall march the troops to Eleuſis, and deputies ſhall be ſent to all the cities of

[h] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 501. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 474

* Wolfius aſks, why? and for what purpoſe? The anſwer, I apprehend, ſays Dr. Leland, is obvious. To clear the place for an aſſembly; and in their confuſion and impatience they took the ſpeedieſt and moſt violent method. T.

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 474.

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Greece. They ſhall immediately repair to Thebes, to exhort the Thebans to defend their liberty, to offer them arms, troops, and money, and to repreſent to them, that if Athens has hitherto believed that her honour demanded that ſhe ſhould diſpute pre-eminence with them, ſhe now thinks that it would be diſgraceful to her, to the Thebans, and to all the Greeks, to ſubmit to the yoke of a foreign power."

This decree has paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition. Five deputies have been nominated, among whom are Demoſthenes and the orator Hyperides. They will depart immediately [k].

*The* ..... Our deputies found at Thebes the deputies of the allies of that city. The latter, after having laviſhed the greateſt praiſes on Philip, and loaded the Athenians with reproaches, repreſented to the Thebans, that, in gratitude for the obligations they were under to the king of Macedon, they ought to permit him a free paſſage through their ſtates [l], and even join him in his invaſion of Attica. They called their attention to the alternative, that either the ſpoils of Athens muſt be brought to Thebes, or thoſe of the Thebans be carried to Macedon [m]. Theſe arguments and menaces were urged with much force by one of the moſt celebrated orators of this age, Python of Byzantium, who ſpoke in behalf of Philip [n]: but Demoſthenes replied with ſuch ſuperiority of eloquence, that the Thebans did not heſitate to receive within their walls an Athenian army, commanded by Chares and Stratocles [o] *. The project of uniting the Athenians and Thebans is conſidered as a wondrous effort of genius, and its ſucceſs as the triumph of eloquence.

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[k] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 505.
[l] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 23. t. ii p. 575.
[m] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 589.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 475.
[o] Id. ibid.

* Diodorus calls him Lyſileps, but Æſchines (de Falſ. Leg. p. 451.) and Polyænus (Strategem. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 2.) call him Stratocles. The authority of Æſchines ought to induce us to give the preference to this reading.



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*The* ..... Philip, while he waited for circumſtances to become more favourable, determined to carry into execution the decree of the Amphictyons, and attack the city of Amphiſſa. But to approach it, it was neceſſary to force a defile defended by Chares and Proxenus, the former with a detachment of Thebans and Athenians, and the latter with a body of auxiliary troops which the Amphiſſeans had taken into their pay [o]. After ſome ineffectual attempts, Philip contrived that a letter ſhould fall into the hands of the generals, in which he had written to Parmenio, that the troubles which had unexpectedly ariſen in Thrace required his preſence, and obliged him to defer the ſiege of Amphiſſa till another opportunity. This ſtratagem ſucceeded; Chares and Proxenus neglected to defend the paſs, on which the king immediately ſeized it, defeated the Amphiſſeans, and made himſelf maſter of their city [p].

## In the Archonship of Charondas,

The 3d year of the 110th Olympiad,

(*From the 28th of June of the year* 338 *to the* 17*th of July of the year* 337 *before Chriſt.*)

*The* ....*. It appears that Philip wiſhes to terminate the war: he is to ſend ambaſſadors to us. The Thebans have opened a negotiation, and are on the point of concluding a treaty with him. They have communicated to us his propoſals, and adviſed us to accept them [q]. Many perſons here are of opinion that their counſel ſhould be followed; but Demoſthenes, who believes he has humbled Philip, wiſhes completely to reduce and cruſh him.

[o] Æchin. in Ctef. p. 451. Demoſth. de Coron. p. 509.

[p] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2 8.

* In the beginning of July in the year 338. before Chriſt.

[q] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 452.

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In the assembly of this day, he openly declared for the continuance of the war. Phocion was of a contrary opinion. "When then," said the orator Hyperides to the latter, "would you advise war?" "When," replied Phocion, "I shall see our young men obedient to discipline, the rich contribute freely, and our orators no longer lavish the public treasure[r]." One of those retainers to the law, who pass their lives in bringing public accusations before the tribunals of justice, exclaimed: How! Phocion, now the Athenians have arms in their hands, dare you propose to them to lay them down! Yes; I dare, replied he, though I well know that I shall have authority over you during war, and be in your power in time of peace[s]. The orator Polyeuctus next began to speak. As he is extremely corpulent, and the weather was excessively hot, he sweated profusely, and could not continue his harangue without calling every moment for a glass of water. "Athenians," said Phocion, "you have certainly reason to listen to such orators; for this man, who cannot speak four words to you without being in danger of suffocation, will no doubt perform wonders when, loaded with cuirass and buckler, he shall oppose the enemy[t]." As Demosthenes insisted much on the advantage of removing the seat of war into Bœotia, and thus keeping it at a distance from Attica, Phocion replied, "Let us not consider where we shall give battle, but where we may gain the victory[u]." The advice of Demosthenes has prevailed, and immediately after the rising of the assembly, he has set out for Bœotia.

*The* .... Demosthenes has forced the Thebans and Bœotians to break off all negotiation with Philip. Every hope of peace has now vanished[x].

*The* .... Philip has advanced at the head of thirty thousand foot, and at least two thousand horse[y], to Chæronea in Bœo-

[r] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 752
[s] Id. ibid. p. 748.
[t] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 748.
[x] Æschin. in Ctes. p. 451.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 475.



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tia: he is not more than ſeven hundred ſtadia * diſtant from Athens [z].

Demoſthenes is preſent every where, and does every thing. He communicates a rapid motion to the aſſemblies of the Bœotians, and the counſels of their generals [a]. Never has eloquence produced ſuch great effects: ſhe has excited in all minds the ardour of enthuſiaſm and the thirſt of combats [b]. At her commanding voice the numerous battalions of the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Leucadians, and ſeveral other ſtates, have been ſeen to advance toward Bœotia [c], on which country aſtoniſhed Greece has eagerly fixed her eyes, in anxious expectation of the event that is to decide her fate [d]. Athens is alternately agitated by all the convulſions of hope and terror. Phocion is calm and unmoved. I cannot be ſo, for Philotas is with the army. This, however, is ſaid to be ſtronger than that of Philip [e].

The battle is loſt; Philotas is killed; I have no longer friends: Greece is no more; I muſt return to Scythia.

My journal here concludes; I had not power to continue it. It was my determination to depart immediately; but I could not reſiſt the entreaties of the ſiſter of Philotas, and Apollodorus her huſband, I remained with them another year, and we wept together.

I ſhall now endeavour to recollect ſome circumſtances of the battle. It was fought on the 7th of the month Metageitnion [f] †.

Never did the Athenians and Thebans diſplay greater courage; the former had even broken the Macedonian phalanx; but their generals neglected to profit by the advantage

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* 26½ leagues.

[z] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 511.

[a] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 452. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 854.

[b] Theop. ap. Plut. ibid.

[c] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 512. Lucian. in Demoſt. Encom. c. 39. t. iii. p. 519.

[d] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 854.

[e] Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 3.

[f] Plut. in Camill. t. i. p. 138. Corſin. de Nat. Die Plat. in Symb. Lettr. t. vi. p. 95.

† The 3d of Auguſt of the year 338 before Chriſt.

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they had gained. Philip, who perceived their error, coolly remarked, that the Athenians knew not how to conquer, and reſtored order to his army [g]. He commanded the right, and his ſon Alexander the left wing; and both gave the moſt ſignal proofs of courage. Demoſthenes was among the firſt who fled [h]. On the part of the Athenians, more than a thouſand men fell by a glorious death, and more than two thouſand were made priſoners. The loſs of the Thebans was nearly equal [i].

The king at firſt ſuffered ſigns of an indecent exultation to eſcape him. After an entertainment, in which his officers and courtiers, following his example, indulged in the moſt intemperate revelry [k], he repaired to the field of battle, where he was not aſhamed to inſult the dead bodies of thoſe brave warriors whom he beheld extended at his feet, and began to declaim, beating time in deriſion, the decree which Demoſthenes had drawn up to arm againſt him the ſtates of Greece [l]. The orator Demades, though a priſoner and in chains, ſaid to him: "Philip, you play the part of Therſites, when it is in your power to act that of Agamemnon [m]." Th ſe words reſtored him to himſelf. He threw away the chaplet of flowers that had been placed on his head, ordered Demades to be ſet at liberty, and rendered juſtice to the courage of the vanquiſhed [n].

He treated the city of Thebes, which had forgotten his favours, with more rigour. He left a garriſon in the citadel, baniſhed ſome of the principal inhabitants, and put others to death [o]. This example of ſeverity, which he believed neceſſary, extinguiſhed his anger, and the conqueror afterward only exerciſed the utmoſt moderation. He was adviſed to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places in Greece; but he declared that he would rather chooſe the durable re-

[g] Polyæn Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2.
[h] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 855.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 476.
[k] Id. ibid.
[l] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 855.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 477.
[n] Plut in Pelopid. t. i. p. 287.
[o] Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 4.



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putation of clemency than the tranſitory ſplendour of dominion [p]. It was ſuggeſted to him at leaſt to take vengeance on the Athenians, who, by their obſtinate reſiſtance, had occaſioned him ſo much trouble and diſquietude: but he replied, "The gods forbid that I, who labour only for glory, ſhould deſtroy the theatre of that glory [q]." On the contrary, he permitted the Athenians to carry off their dead, and ſet thoſe who had been made priſoners at liberty; who, emboldened by his goodneſs, behaved with all that indiſcretion and levity with which their nation has been reproached. They loudly demanded that their baggage ſhould be reſtored to them, and preferred complaints againſt the Macedonian officers. Philip granted them the former requeſt, but could not refrain from ſaying with a ſmile, "Does it not ſeem as if we had only beaten the Athenians at a game of dice [r]?" Some time after, and while the Athenians were making preparations to ſuſtain a ſiege [s], Alexander, the ſon of Philip, came, accompanied by Antipater, to offer them a treaty of peace and alliance [t].

I then beheld that Alexander who has ſince filled the earth with admiration and mourning. He was eighteen years of age, and had already ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral actions. At the battle of Chæronea, he had broken and put to flight the right wing of the enemy's army. This victory added new luſtre to the graces of his perſon. His features are regular, his complexion clear and ruddy; he has an aquiline noſe, large eyes, full of fire and animation, yellow and curling hair; his neck is long, but his head inclines a little to the left ſhoulder; he is of a middle ſtature; his body is well proportioned, and rendered ſtrong by continual exerciſe [u]. It is ſaid that he is very ſwift of foot, and

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 178.
[r] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 177.
[s] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 153. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 514.
[t] Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 4.
[u] Arrian. de Exped. Alexandr. lib. 7. p. 309. Plut. in Alexandr. t. i. p. 666 et 678. Id Apophth. t. ii. p. 179. Quint. Curt. lib. 6. c. 1. § 29. Solin. cap. 9. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 14. Anthelog. lib. 4. p. 314.



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extremely attentive to his dreſs [x]. He entered Athens on a ſuperb horſe, which is named Bucephalus, which no perſon but himſelf had been able to govern [y], and which coſt thirteen talents *.

In a ſhort time Alexander became the only ſubject of converſation. The grief in which I was abſorbed prevented me from obſerving him with attention; but I afterwards made inquiries concerning him of an Athenian, who had long reſided in Macedonia, from whom I received the following information:

This prince unites with great abilities and wit, an inſatiable deſire of obtaining knowledge [z], and a natural taſte for the arts, which he protects without being greatly ſkilled in them. His converſation is extremely pleaſing; he diſplays the utmoſt affability and fidelity in the intercourſe of friendſhip [a], and great elevation in his ſentiments and ideas. Nature has implanted in him the germ, and Ariſtotle has explained to him the principles, of every virtue. But amid ſuch numerous advantages, he is actuated by a paſſion injurious to himſelf, and which may perhaps prove deſtructive to the human race—I mean the inordinate thirſt of dominion, which is ſo conſpicuous in his eyes, air, words, and minuteſt actions, that every one who approaches him feels himſelf penetrated with reſpect and fear [b]. He would aſpire to be the ſovereign of the whole world [c], and the ſingle depoſitary of human knowledge [d]. Ambition, and all thoſe illuſtrious qualities which we admire in Philip, are found alſo in his ſon; but with this difference, that in the former they are mingled with qualities by which they are attempered; while in the latter, firmneſs degenerates into obſtinacy, the love of glory into frenzy, and courage into fury: for his will is as inflexible as Deſtiny, and riſes with

[x] Ap. Ariſtot. Rhet. ad Alex. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 608.
[y] Plut. in Alex. p. 667. Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 2.
* 70,200 livres (2925 l.)
[z] Iſocr. Epiſt ad Alex. t. i. p. 466.
[a] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 677.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 14.
[c] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 680.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 668. Ap. Ariſtot. Rhet. ad Alex. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 609.

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redoubled violence againſt every obſtacle [c], as the torrent impetuouſly ruſhes over the rock which obſtructs it in its courſe.

Philip employs different means to attain his end; but Alexander knows no other than his ſword. Philip did not bluſh to diſpute the prize at the Olympic games with private individuals; but Alexander wiſhed that kings alone might be his antagoniſts [f]. It ſeems as if a ſecret ſentiment inceſſantly admoniſhed the former, that he had arrived at the elevation to which he has attained, only by dint of his labours and efforts; and the latter, that he was born in the boſom of greatneſs *.

Jealous of his father, he would wiſh to ſurpaſs him; and, emulous of Achilles [g], he will endeavour to equal him. He conſiders Achilles as the greateſt of heroes, and Homer as the firſt of poets [h], becauſe he has immortalized Achilles. There are ſeveral features in which Alexander reſembles the model he has choſen. He poſſeſſes the ſame violence of diſpoſition, the ſame impetuoſity in battle, and the ſame ſenſibility of ſoul. He once ſaid that Achilles was the moſt fortunate of mortals, becauſe he had poſſeſſed ſuch a friend as Patroclus, and been celebrated by ſuch a panegyriſt as Homer [i].

The negotiation of Alexander was not protracted. The Athenians accepted the proffered peace, the conditions of which were extremely mild. Philip even reſtored to them the iſle of Samos [k], which he had taken ſome time before. He only required that they ſhould ſend deputies to the diet which he was about to convene at Corinth, to deliberate on the general intereſts of Greece [l].

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[c] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 650.

[f] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 666. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.

* See the compariſon between Philip and Alexander, in the excellent hiſtory of the former of thoſe princes given to the public in 1740. by M. Oliver of Marſeilles.

[g] Plut. in Alex. p. 667.

[h] Id. de Fort. Alex. Orat. i. t. ii. p. 327. 331, &c. Dion. Chryſ. de Regn. Orat. p. 19.

[i] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 672. Cicer. pro Arch. cap. 10. t. v. p. 315.

[k] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 681.

[l] Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 748.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF PHRYNICHUS,

The 4th year of the 110th Olympiad,

*(From the 17th of July of the year 337, to the 7th of July of the year 336 before Chriſt.)*

THE Lacedæmonians refuſed to ſend any deputies to the aſſembly held at Corinth. Philip complained of their neglect with haughtineſs, but only received the following anſwer: "If you imagine yourſelf to be grown greater ſince your victory, meaſure your ſhadow; you will find that it has not lengthened a ſingle inch[m]." Philip, irritated, replied, "If I enter Laconia, I will drive you all out of the country." They returned him for anſwer the ſingle word—"If[n]."

But an object of greater importance prevented him from carrying his threats into execution. The deputies of almoſt all the ſtates of Greece being aſſembled, the king firſt propoſed to them to terminate all the diſſenſions by which the Greeks had till then been divided, and eſtabliſh a permanent council to watch over the preſervation of univerſal peace. He afterwards repreſented, that it was time to take vengeance for the injuries and inſults that Greece had formerly ſuffered from the Perſians, and to carry the war into the dominions of the Great King[o]. Both theſe propoſitions were received with applauſe; and Philip was unanimouſly choſen general of the Grecian army, with the moſt ample powers. The number of troops which each city ſhould furniſh was fixed at the ſame time; and amounted in the whole to two hundred thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, without including the Macedonians, or the forces of the barbarous nations which had been ſubjected by Philip[p]. After theſe reſolutions had paſſed, the king returned to Macedon to prepare for this glorious expedition.

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[m] Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218.
[n] Id. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 511.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 478.
[p] Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 5. Oroſ. lib. 3. cap. 14.

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The liberty of Greece then expired[q]. This country, ſo fruitful in great men, will long be held in ſervitude by the kings of Macedon. At this period I left Athens, notwithſtanding every endeavour to induce me to prolong my ſtay; and returned into Scythia, diveſted of thoſe prejudices which had diſguſted me with my country. I now reſide among a people who inhabit the banks of the Boryſthenes, where I cultivate a ſmall farm which once appertained to the ſage Anacharſis, my anceſtor. I there enjoy the tranquillity of ſolitude; and I might add, all the pleaſures of friendſhip, if the loſſes of the heart could ever be repaired. In my youth I ſought happineſs among enlightened nations; in a more advanced age I have found repoſe among a people who are only acquainted with the gifts and enjoyments of Nature.

[q] Oroſ. lib. 3. cap. 13.

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# NOTES.

## CHAP. LXIX.—Page 31.

### *On the Number of Tragedies written by Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.*

Æschylus, according to ſome, wrote ſeventy tragedies [a]; according to others, ninety [b]. The anonymous author of the life of Sophocles attributes to that poet a hundred and thirteen; Suidas, a hundred and twenty-three; and others, a ſtill greater number [c]. Samuel Petit aſſigns him only ſixty-ſix [d]. According to different writers, Euripides wrote ſeventy-five, or ninety-two [e]; and it appears that we ought to decide in favour of the former number [f]. Authors likewiſe differ with reſpect to the number of prizes that they gained.

## CHAP. LXX.—Page 46.

### *On the Singing and Declamation of the ancient Tragedy.*

The ancients have left us but little light on this ſubject; and modern critics have been divided in their opinions, when they have undertaken to elucidate it. It has been aſſerted, that the ſcenes were ſung; and it has been affirmed that they were declaimed, or

[a] Anonym. in Vit. Æſchyl.
[b] Suid. in Αἰσχυλ.
[c] Id. in Σοφοκλ.
[d] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 71.
[e] Suid. in Εὐριπ. Var. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 4.
[f] Walck. Diatrib. in Euripid. p. 9.

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or recited. Some have added, that the declamation was noted. I ſhall give in a few words the reſult of my inquiries.

1. *The actors declaimed in the ſcenes.* Ariſtotle, ſpeaking of the means employed by certain kinds of poetry to produce imitation, ſays, that the dithyrambics, the nomi, tragedy, and comedy, made uſe of rhythm, melody, and verſe; with this difference, that the dithyrambics and the nomi employed all the three together, and tragedy and comedy made uſe of them ſeparately [g]: and afterwards he ſays, that, in the ſame piece, tragedy ſometimes employs metre alone, and ſometimes metre accompanied with melody [h].

It is well known, that the ſcenes were uſually compoſed in iambic verſe, becauſe this kind of metre is moſt proper for dialogue. But Plutarch, ſpeaking of the muſical execution of the iambic verſes, ſays, that, in tragedy, ſome were recited while the inſtruments played, and that others were ſung [i]. Declamation was then admitted in the ſcenes.

2. *The actors frequently ſang in the ſcenes.* To the proof afforded by the preceding paſſage in Plutarch, I ſhall add the following others. Ariſtotle aſſures us, that the hypodorian and hypophrygian modes or keys were uſed in the ſcenes, though they were not in the choruſes [k].

"When Hecuba and Andromache ſing on the ſtage," ſays Lucian, "we may pardon them; but for Hercules ſo far to forget himſelf as to ſing, is an intolerable abſurdity [l]." The characters of a piece, therefore, ſang on certain occaſions.

3. *Declamation was never uſed in the interludes, or intervals between the acts, but in theſe the whole chorus ſang.* This propoſition is not conteſted.

4. *The chorus ſometimes ſang in the courſe of a ſcene.* This is proved from the paſſage in Pollux: "When, inſtead of a fourth actor, ſome one of the chorus is made to ſing," &c [m]. And likewiſe by the precept in Horace: "Let the chorus ſing no-

[g] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 653. B.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656, C.
[i] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141, A. Bueret. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. x. p. 253.
[k] Ariſtot. Probl. ſect. 19. § 48. t. ii. p. 770, B.
[l] Lucian. de Salt. § 27. t. ii. p. 285.
[m] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 110.



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thing between the interludes which is not closely connected with the action [n]:" as also by a number of examples. It will be sufficient to refer to the Agamemnon of Æschylus, from verse 1099 to verse 1186; the Hippolytus of Euripides, from verse 58 to verse 72; the Orestes of the same poet, from verse 140 to verse 207, &c. &c.

5. *The chorus, or rather its coryphæus, sometimes entered into dialogue with the actors; and this dialogue was only declaimed.* This was especially done when the chorus was asked for any explanations, or when itself requested them from one of the persons of the drama; in a word, as often as it immediately participated in the action. See, in the Medea of Euripides, verse 811; in the Supplicants of the same poet, verse 634; in the Iphigenia in Aulis of the same, verse 917, &c.

The first scenes of the Ajax of Sophocles will suffice, if I am not mistaken, to show the manner in which declamation and singing were employed successively.

Scene the first, *Minerva and Ulysses;* scene the second, *the same and Ajax;* scene the third, *Minerva and Ulysses.* These three scenes form the exposition of the subject. Minerva relates to Ulysses that Ajax, in a fit of frenzy, had killed the shepherds, and slaughtered the flocks, imagining that he sacrificed to his vengeance the chiefs of the army. This is a fact, and is narrated in iambic verses; whence I conclude that the three scenes were declaimed.

Minerva and Ulysses go off, and the chorus enters: it is composed of Salaminians, who deplore the misfortune of their sovereign, of whose frantic actions they have been informed. The chorus entertains doubts, which it seeks to satisfy. It does not employ the iambic verse; its style is figurative. It is alone; it expresses itself in a strophe and antistrophe, both containing the same number of verses of the same metre. This, therefore, is what Aristotle calls the first speech of the whole chorus [o]; and, by consequence, the first interlude, which was always sung by all the voices of the chorus.

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[n] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 194.

[o] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 662.

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After the interlude, ſcene the firſt, *Tecmeſſa and the chorus.* This ſcene, which continues from verſe 200 to verſe 307, is as it were, divided into two parts. In the firſt, which contains 62 verſes, Tecmeſſa confirms the accounts of the frenzy of Ajax; her lamentations and thoſe of the chorus follow. The verſes are anapæſts. In the part of the chorus is a ſtrophe, with its correſponding antiſtrophe, perfectly reſembling it in the number and meaſure of the verſes. I ſuppoſe all this to have been ſung. The ſecond part of the ſcene was, no doubt, declaimed; it only conſiſts of iambic verſes. The chorus interrogates Tecmeſſa, who enters into a circumſtantial account of the action of Ajax. The exclamations of Ajax are heard, the door of his tent is opened, and he appears.

Scene the ſecond, *Ajax, Tecmeſſa, and the chorus.* This ſcene, like the preceding, was partly ſung and partly declaimed. Ajax (v. 348) ſings four ſtrophes, with their correſponding antiſtrophes. Tecmeſſa and the chorus reply by two or three iambic verſes, which muſt have been ſung, as I ſhall preſently ſhow. After the laſt antiſtrophe and the anſwer of the chorus, begin, at verſe 430, the iambics, which continue to verſe 600, or rather 595. In theſe the prince, recovered from his delirium, ſignifies to Tecmeſſa and the chorus his reſolution to put an end to his life: they entreat him to abandon ſuch a deſign. He aſks to ſee his ſon, takes him in his arms, and addreſſes to him an affecting ſpeech. All this is declaimed. Tecmeſſa goes out with her child; Ajax remains on the ſtage; but he obſerves a profound ſilence, while the chorus executes the ſecond interlude.

From this examination, which I might carry farther, it is manifeſt that the chorus was conſidered under two different points of view, according as it was employed in either of the two diſtinct functions allotted to it. In the interludes, or intervals between the acts, the whole chorus ſang together; in the ſcenes in which it participated in the action, it was repreſented by its coryphæus; which explains the expreſſion of Ariſtotle and Horace, that the chorus ſometimes performed the part of an actor [P].

[P] Id. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 666, D. Dacier, ib. p. 312. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 193.

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*6. By what marks may the parts of a drama which were ſung be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which were only recited?* I am not able to lay down rules for this diſtinction which will apply in every caſe; I can only ſay that it appears to me, that declamation had place as often as the interlocutors, following the thread of the action, without the intervention of the chorus, expreſſed themſelves in a long ſeries of iambics, at the head of which the ſcholiaſts have written the word IAMBOI. I incline to believe, but I will not poſitively aſſert, that all the other verſes were ſung. We may, however, in generrl, affirm that the earlier authors applied themſelves more to the melopœia than their ſucceſſors [q]; the reaſon of which is evident. The dramatic poems deriving their origin from thoſe companies of buffoons who traverſed Attica, it was natural for the chant, or ſinging, to be regarded as the principal part of tragedy in its infancy [r]; and hence, no doubt, it is that it prevails more in the pieces of Æſchylus, and Phrynichus [s] his contemporary, than in thoſe of Euripides and Sophocles.

I have ſaid above, on the authority of Plutarch, that the iambic verſes were ſometimes ſung when the chorus performed the part of an actor. We in fact find this kind of verſe in irregular ſtanzas adapted to be ſung. Æſchylus has often uſed it in modulated ſcenes; as, for example, that of the king of Argos and the chorus, in the Supplicants, verſe 352: the chorus ſings ſtrophes and their correſponding antiſtrophes; the king replies five times, and each time by five iambic verſes; a proof, unleſs I am miſtaken, that all theſe reſponſes were to the ſame air. See ſimilar examples in the pieces of the ſame author; in the Seven Chiefs, v. 209 and 692; in the Perſians, v. 256; in Agamemnon, v. 1099; and in the Supplicants, v. 747 and 883.

*7. Was the declamation noted?* The Abbé Du Bos pretends that it was [t]. He has been refuted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres [u]; in which it is proved that the inſtrument by

[q] Id. Probl. ſect. 19. § 31. t. ii. p. 766.
[r] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 7. p. 630, C. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 56.
[s] Ariſtot. ibid.
[t] Du. Bos, Reflex. Crit. t. iii. p. 54, &c.
[u] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 191, 209.



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which the voice of the actor was accompanied, was only employed to support the voice from time to time, and prevent it from rising too high or sinking too low.

## SAME CHAP.—Page 49.

### *On the Vases of the Theatres.*

Vitruvius relates that, under the seats on which the spectators sat in the theatres, the Greek architects formed small open cells, in which they placed brazen vessels, intended to receive in their cavities the sounds which came from the stage, and reflect them in a strong, clear, and harmonious manner. These vessels were made so as to sound the fourth, fifth, and octave, one above the other[x]; and therefore had the same proportions between themselves as the strings of the lyre which supported the voice: but the effect was not the same. The lyre indicated and supported the tone; the vessels could only reproduce and lengthen it: and what advantage could result from that succession of echoes of which there was nothing to deaden the sound? This I am unable to discover; for which reason I have not spoken of these vessels in the text of my work. I had also another: it is not proved that the Athenians made use of them. Aristotle propounds these questions: Why does a house resound when it has been newly whitened; when empty vessels have been sunk in it; when it has wells or similar cavities[y]? It is not necessary to give his answers; but he would certainly have mentioned the vessels of the theatres, if they had been known to him. Mummius found them in the theatre of Corinth; but this was two hundred years after the time I have chosen. The custom was afterward introduced in several cities of Greece and Italy, where earthen vessels were sometimes substituted instead of those of brass[z]. Rome never adopted them; the Roman architects, no doubt, perceived that if, on the one hand,

[x] Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[y] Aristot. Probl. sect. 11. § 7, 8, 9. t. ii. p. 736.
[z] Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. cap. 5. Plin. lib. 11. cap. 51. t. i. p. 643.



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they rendered the theatre more sonorous, there were inconveniences, on the other, which counterbalanced this advantage.

## SAME CHAP.—Page 52.

### *On Callipides.*

This actor, who boasted he could draw tears from a whole auditory [a], was so proud of his success and the applauses he received, that, having met Agesilaus, he advanced, saluted him, and joining those who accompanied him, waited for the prince to address him with some compliment: but being disappointed in this expectation, he said to him: King of Lacedæmon, do you not know me? Agesilaus, having surveyed him, coldly asked him if he was not Callipides the stage player? the talents of the actor appeared to the Spartan to be of little value. It was once proposed to the same Agesilaus to hear a man who could imitate perfectly the song of the nightingale; to which he only answered, "I have heard the nightingale itself [b]."

## SAME CHAP.—Page 56.

### *On the Masks.*

Some years since, a great quantity of silver coins were found at Athens, bearing on one side an indented square, and all of them of rude workmanship and without legends. I acquired several for the cabinet of the king of France: From the different types they bear, I will not hesitate to affirm they were struck at Athens, or in the neighbouring countries; and that some are of the time of Æschylus, and others more ancient than that poet. Two of them present us with that hideous mask of which I have spoken in the text of my work. The mask was then in use in the infancy of the dramatic art.

[a] Xenoph. in Conv. p. 880, C.

[b] Plut. in Agesil. t. i. p. 607, D. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212, E.



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## CHAP. LXXI.—Page 74.

### *On the Place of the Scene in which Ajax killed himself.*

Several modern critics have ſuppoſed that, in the tragedy of Sophocles, Ajax pierced himſelf with his ſword in the ſight of the ſpectators. They ſupport their opinion by the authority of the ſcholiaſt, who obſerves that the heroes rarely killed themſelves on the ſtage [c]. I am of opinion the rule was not violated on this occaſion; to be convinced of which it will be ſufficient to follow the thread of the action.

The chorus, informed that Ajax is no longer in his tent [d], goes out by the two ſides of the theatre, to ſeek him and bring him back [e]. The heroe re-appears. After an affecting ſoliloquy, he throws himſelf on the point of his ſword, the hilt of which he had previouſly fixed in the ground [f]. The chorus returns [g]; and, while it laments that its reſearches had been ineffectual, hears the cries of Tecmeſſa, who has found the body of her huſband [h], and advances to behold the fatal ſpectacle [i]. Ajax therefore did not kill himſelf on the ſtage.

I have ſuppoſed that, by the ſide of the tent of Ajax, there was an avenue which led to the country, and which was concealed by a curtain, drawn when the chorus went out. It is in this receſs that Ajax appeared and openly declarrd his laſt reſolution, which gives us the reaſon why it was ſaid that the part of this heroe required a very ſtrong voice [k]. At the diſtance of ſome paces behind the tent he had fixed his ſword. Thus the audience might ſee and hear him when he recited his ſoliloquy, yet could not be ſpectators of his death.

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[c] Schol. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 826.
[d] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 805.
[e] Ibid. v. 824.
[f] Ibid. v. 826.
[g] Ibid. v. 877.
[h] Ibid. v. 900.
[i] Ibid. v. 924. 1022.
[k] Schol. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 875.

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## SAME CHAP.—Page 99.

### *On the Manner in which the Actor Hegelochus pronounced a Verse of Euripides.*

In Greek, Γαλανὰ (*galena*) signifies a calm, and Γαλῆν (*galen*) a cat. In the paſſage in queſtion, Hegelochus ſhould have pronounced *galen oro;* that is to ſay, *the calm I ſee.* Theſe two words were pronounced in ſuch a manner that the laſt ſyllable of the former, and the firſt of the latter were heard at once. The actor being exhauſted, and his breath ſuddenly failing him, was obliged to ſtop after the word *galena*, the laſt vowel of which he omitted, and ſaid *galen .... oro;* that is, *a cat .... I ſee* [l].

## CHAP. LXXII.—Page 128.

### *On the Temple of Epheſus, and the Statue of the Goddeſs.*

In the year 356 before Chriſt, the temple of Epheſus was burnt by Heroſtratus [m]. Some years after, the Epheſians rebuilt it. It appears that the fire only deſtroyed the roof, and the parts which were not able to reſiſt its fury. See, on this ſubject, an excellent diſſertation by the Marquis de Poleni, inſerted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Crotona [n]. If we adopt his opinion, we muſt ſay that the dimenſions of the temple were the ſame both before and after the time of Heroſtratus; and its length, according to Pliny [o], was four hundred and twenty-five feet *, its breadth two hundred and twenty feet †, and its height ſixty feet ‡, I imagine the feet here intended by Pliny were Grecian feet.

[l] Eurip. in Oreſt. v. 279. Shol. ibid. Markl. in Suppl. Eurip. v. 901. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 306. Schol. ibid. Bruck. ibid.

[m] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665.

[n] T. i. part. 2. No. 13. 14. p. 21. &c.

[o] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 740.

* 401 feet 5 inches 8 lines, Fr. (427 feet 10 inches, Eng).

† 207 feet 9 inches 4 lines, Fr. (221 feet 5 inches, Eng).

‡ 56 feet 8 inches Fr. (60 feet 4 inches, Eng).



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The Epheſians had begun to rebuild the temple when Alexander propoſed to them to defray alone the whole expence, on condition that they would aſcribe the honour of it to him in an inſcription. He received a refuſal, for which they eaſily obtained a pardon, on account of the flattery with which it was accompanied. "It is not ſuitable to a god," ſaid the deputy of the Epheſians to the king, "to decorate the temple of another divinity [p]."

I have only indicated in general the ornaments of the ſtatue, becauſe they differ on the monuments which ſtill remain, and which are poſterior to the æra of the travels of Anacharſis. It is even poſſible that theſe monuments may not all have relation to the Diana of Epheſus. However this may be, in ſome of them the upper part of the body, or the ſheath which ſupplies its place, is covered with breaſts; and below are ſeveral compartments, ſeparatd from each other by a liſtel, which runs all round, and on which are emboſſed ſmall figures, repreſenting victories, bees, oxen, ſtags, and other animals. Sometimes complete figures of lions are faſtened to the arms [q]. I imagine that, on the ſtatue, theſe ſymbols were of gold. Xenophon, who, in his little temple at Scillus, had dedicated a ſtatue of Diana, reſembling that of Epheſus, ſays, that the latter was of gold, and that his was only of cypreſs [r]. As it appears from other authors that the Diana of Epheſus was of wood, it may be preſumed that Xenophon only ſpoke of the ornaments with which it was decorated.

I ſhall here offer an explanation of a ſmall antique in gold which was diſcovered in the territory of the ancient Lacedæmon, and of which Count Ceylus has given an engraving in the ſecond volume of his Collection of Antiquities [s]. The gold of it is of baſe quality, and alloyed with ſilver. The workmanſhip is rude, and of great antiquity. It repreſents an ox, or rather a ſtag, ſitting on its haunches. The holes made through it evidently ſhow that it was faſtened to ſome more conſiderable body; and if we compare it with the different figures of the Diana of Epheſus, we ſhall the more eaſily be induced to conclude that it was affixed to

[p] Strab. lib. 14. p. 641.
[q] Menetr. Symbol. Dian. Epheſ. Stat.
[r] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.
[s] Recueil d'Antiq. t. ii. p. 42. pl. xi.

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ſome ſtatue, as it weighs only one ounce, one gros, ſixty grains (one ounce, four pennyweights, five grains, Engliſh troy weight), and as its greateſt length is only two inches, two lines; and its greateſt height, to the extremity of the horns, three inches, one line. Perhaps it was formerly carried to Lacedæmon; perhaps it was an ornament of one of the ſtatutes of Diana in that city, or of that of Apollo at Amyclæ, in the decoration of which the gold was employed that Crœſus ſent to the Lacedæmonians [t].

I am of opinion that the more ornaments the figures of the Diana of Epheſus have, the leſs ancient they are. Her ſtatue at firſt only preſented a head, arms, feet, and a body in form of a ſheath. Afterwards were added to it the ſymbols of other divinities, and eſpecially thoſe which characterized Iſis, Cybele, Ceres, &c [u].

The power of the goddeſs and the devotion of the people augmenting in the ſame proportion as her ſymbols, ſhe was conſidered by ſome as the image of productive nature, and by others as one of the greateſt divinities of Olympus. Her worſhip which had long been known in ſome diſtant countries [x], extended into Aſia Minor, Syria [y], and Greece properly ſo called [z]. It was in its greateſt ſplendour under the firſt Roman emperors; and it was then alſo, that other divinities, having obtained by the ſame means an increaſe of power [a], the idea was conceived of thoſe Panthean figures which are ſtill preſerved in cabinets, and which united the ſymbols of all the gods.

## CHAP. LXXIII.—Page 142.

### *On the Rhodians.*

The character which I give of the Rhodians is founded on a number of paſſages in ancient authors, particularly on the teſtimonies,

[t] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 231.
[u] Menetr. Symbol. Dian. Epheſ. Stat.
[x] Strab. lib. 4. p. 179, 180.
[y] Imperial medals of Cyzicus, Philadelphia in Lydia, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Ancyra in Galatia, Neapolis in Paleſtine, &c. &c. Spanh. de Preſt. Numiſm. t. i. p. 507. Cuper. in Apoth. Homer. p. 250.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 115; lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 357.
[a] Joan. Petr. Bellor. Symbol. Deæ Syr. Simulacr.



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of eſteem they received from Alexander [b]; on the famous ſiege which they ſuſtained, with ſo much courage, againſt Demetrius Poliorcetes, thirty-eight years after the time when I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have viſited their iſland [c]; on the powerful ſuccours which they furniſhed to the Romans; and on the marks of gratitude which they, in conſequence, received from the republic of Rome [d].

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## SAME CHAP.—PAGE 147.

### *On the Labyrinth of Crete.*

I HAVE ſaid but a word on the famous labyrinth of Crete; but the little I have ſaid, it is incumbent on me to juſtify.

Herodotus has left us a deſcription of that which he had ſeen in Egypt, near the lake Mœris. It conſiſted of twelve large contiguous palaces, containing three thouſand chambers, fifteen hundred of which were under ground [e]. Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Mela ſpeak of this monument with the ſame admiration as Herodotus [f]; but not one of them tells us that it was conſtructed to bewilder thoſe who attempted to go over it, though it is manifeſt that, without a guide, they would be in danger of loſing their way.

It was this danger, no doubt, which introduced a new term into the Greek language. The word labyrinth, taken in the literal ſenſe, ſignifies a circumſcribed ſpace, interſected by a number of paſſages, ſome of which croſs each other in every direction, like thoſe in quarries and mines, and others make larger or ſmaller circuits round the place from which they depart, like the ſpiral lines we ſee on certain ſhells [g]. In the figurative ſenſe, it was applied to obſcure and captious queſtions [h], to indirect and

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[b] Diod. Sic. 20. p. 809.
[c] Id. ibid p. 810. Plut. in Demetr. t. i. p. 898.
[d] Liv. lib. 51. cap. 15; lib. 37. cap. 12. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 3.
[e] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 148.
[f] Strab. lib. 17. p. 811. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 55. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 739. Pomp. Mela, lib 1. cap. 9. p. 56.
[g] Heſych. Suid. Etymol. Magn. in Λαβύρ.
[h] Lucian. in. Fugit. t. iii. p. 371.

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ambiguous anſwers [j], and to thoſe diſcuſſions, which, after long digreſſions, bring us back to the point from which we ſet out [k].

Of what nature was the labyrinth of Crete?

Diodorus Siculus relates as a conjecture, and Pliny as a certain fact, that Dædalus conſtructed this labyrinth on the model of that of Egypt, though on a leſs ſcale [l]. They add, that it was formed by the command of Minos, who kept the Minotaur ſhut up in it; and that, in their time, it no longer exiſted, having been either deſtroyed by time, or purpoſely demoliſhed [m]. Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, therefore, conſidered this labyrinth as a large edifice; while other writers repreſent it ſimply as a cavern hollowed in the rock, and full of winding paſſages [n]. The two former authors, and the writers laſt mentioned, have tranſmitted to us two different traditions; it remains for us to chooſe that which is moſt probable.

If the labyrinth of Crete had been conſtructed by Dædalus under Minos, whence is it that we find no mention of it, neither in Homer, who more than once ſpeaks of that prince and of Crete; nor in Herodotus, who deſcribes that of Egypt, after having ſaid that the monuments of the Egyptians are much ſuperior to thoſe of the Greeks; nor in the more ancient geographers; nor in any of the writers of the ages when Greece flouriſhed?

This work was attributed to Dædalus, whoſe name is alone ſufficient to diſcredit a tradition. In fact, his name, like that of Hercules, had become the reſource of ignorance, whenever it turned its eyes on the early ages. All great labours, all works, which required more ſtrength than ingenuity, were attributed to Hercules; and all thoſe which had a relation to the arts, and required a certain degree of intelligence in the execution, were aſcribed to Dædalus.

The opinion of Diodorus and Pliny ſuppoſes that, in their time, no traces of the labyrinth exiſted in Crete, and that even the date of its deſtruction had been forgotten. Yet it is ſaid to have been

[j] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. v. p. 913.
[k] Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 291, B. Lucian. in Icarom. t. ii. p. 786.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 59; lib. 4. p. 264 et 277. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 739.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 56.
[n] Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 11. p. 1688. lin. 51. Etymol. Magn. in Λαβύρ.



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viſited by the diſciples of Apollonius of Tyana, who was contemporary with thoſe two authors [o]. The Cretans, therefore, then believed that they poſſeſſed the labyrinth.

I would requeſt the reader to attend to the following paſſage in Strabo. "At Nauplia, near the ancient Argos," ſays that judicious writer, "are ſtill to be ſeen vaſt caverns, in which are conſtructed labyrinths that are believed to be the work of the Cyclops [p] *: the meaning of which is, that the labours of men had opened in the rock paſſages which croſſed and returned upon themſelves, as is done in quarries. Such, if I am not miſtaken, is the idea we ought to form of the labyrinth of Crete.

Were there ſeveral labyrinths in that iſland? Ancient authors ſpeak only of one, which the greater part place at Cnoſſus; and ſome, though the number is but ſmall, at Gortyna [q].

Belon and Tournefort [r] have given us the deſcription of a cavern ſituated at the foot of Mount Ida, on the ſouth ſide of the mountain, at a ſmall diſtance from Gortyna. This was only a quarry, according to the former, and the ancient labyrinth according to the latter; whoſe opinion I have followed, and abridged the account he has given in my text. Thoſe who have added critical notes to his work, beſides this labyrinth, admit a ſecond at Cnoſſus, and adduce, as the principal ſupport of this opinion, the coins of that city, which repreſent the plan of it, according as the artiſts conceived it. For on ſome of theſe it appears of a ſquare form; on others round: on ſome it is only ſketched out; on others it has, in the middle of it, the head of the Minotaur [s]. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, I have given an engraving of one which appears to me to be of about the fifth century before Chriſt; and on which we ſee, on one ſide, the figure of the Minotaur, and on the other a rude plan of the labyrinth [t]. It is therefore certain that, at that time, the Cnoſſians believed they were in poſſeſſion of that celebrated cavern; and it alſo appears that the

[o] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. cap. 34. p. 174.

[p] Strab. lib. 8. p. 369 et 373.

* I have ſpoken of them in chap. 53 of this work.

[q] Meurſ. in Cret. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[r] Belon. Obſervat. liv. 1. chap. 6. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 65.

[s] Coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiv. p. 40.

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Gortynians did not pretend to conteſt their claim, ſince they have never given the figure of it on their money.

The place where I ſuppoſe the labyrinth of Crete to have been ſituated, according to Tournefort [u], is but one league diſtant from Gortyna; and, according to Strabo [x], it was diſtant from Cnoſſus ſix or ſeven leagues. All we can conclude from this is, that the territory of the latter city extended to very near the former.

What was the uſe of the caverns to which the name of labyrinth was given? I imagine that they were firſt excavated in part by nature; that in ſome places ſtones were extracted from them for building cities; and that, in more ancient times, they ſerved for a habitation or aſylum to the inhabitants of a diſtrict expoſed to frequent incurſions. In the journey of Anacharſis through Phocis, I have ſpoken of two great caverns of Parnaſſus, in which the neighbouring people took refuge; in the one at the time of the deluge of Deucalion, and in the other at the invaſion of Xerxes [y]. I here add, that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the moſt ancient Cretans dwelt in the caves of Mount Ida [z]. The people, when inquiries were made on the ſpot, ſaid that their labyrinth was originally only a priſon [a]. It may have been put to this uſe; but it is difficult to believe that, to prevent the eſcape of a few unhappy wretches, ſuch immenſe labours would have been undertaken.

## CHAP. LXXIV.—Page 167.

### *On the Size of the Iſle of Samos.*

Strabo, Agathemeres, Pliny, and Iſidorus differ with reſpect to the circumference of the iſle of Samos. According to the firſt, it is 600 ſtadia [b], or 22½ leagues; according to the ſecond [c], 630 ſtadia, or nearly 24 leagues; according to Pliny [d], 87 Roman miles, or ſomewhat more than 26 leagues; according to Iſidorus [e],

[u] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 65.
[x] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476.
[y] Chap. xxii. of this work.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334.
[a] Philoch. ap. Plut. t. i. p. 6, E.
[b] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.
[c] Agath. lib. 1. c. 5. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 17.
[d] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 31. p. 286.
[e] Iſid. ap. Plin. ibid.

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100 Roman miles, or 30¼ leagues. Similar disagreements are frequently found in the measures given by the ancients.

## SAME CHAP.—Page 178.

### *On the Ring of Polycrates.*

According to St. Clemens of Alexandria, this ring represented a lyre[f]. The fact is of no great importance; but we may remark with what care the Romans preserved the relics of antiquity. In the temple of Concord at Rome, a sardonyx was shown, which was said to be the ring of Polycrates. It was kept in a golden box, and was a present from Augustus[g]. Solinus also gives the name of sardonyx to the gem of Polycrates[h]; but it appears by the testimony of other authors, and especially of Herodotus, that it was an emerald[i].

## CHAP LXXVI.—Page 245.

### *On an Inscription relative to the Festivals of Delos.*

In the year 1739, the Earl of Sandwich brought from Athens to London a marble, on which was engraven a long inscription. It contains the statement of the sums that were due to the temple of Delos, both from individuals and from entire cities. The sums which had been paid, and those which had not, are specified. It also states the expence of the Theoria, or deputation of the Athenians, viz. For the crown of gold presented to the god, the workmanship included, 1500 drachmas (1350 livres—56l. 5s.); for the tripods given to the victors, the workmanship likewise included, 1000 drachmas (900 livres—36l. 10s.); for the architheori, a talent (5400 livres—225l.); for the captain of the galley which carried the Theoria, 7000 drachmas (6300 livres—262l. 10s.);

[f] Clem. Alex. in Pædag. lib. 3. p. 289. Mariett. Pierr. Grav. t. i. p. 13.
[g] Plin. lib. 37. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 764.
[h] Solin. cap. 33. p. 63.
[i] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 41.

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for the purchaſe of 109 oxen for ſacrifice, 8415 drachmas (7573 livres—315l. 11s. 3d.), &c. &c. This inſcription, which has been elucidated by Mr. Taylor[k] and Father Corſini[l], is of the year before Chriſt 373 or 372, and precedes the times in which I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled by only thirty-two years.

## CHAP. LXXIX.—Page 293.

### *Whether the ancient Greek Philoſophers admitted the Unity of God.*

The firſt apologiſts for Chriſtianity, and ſeveral modern authors, after their example, have maintained that the ancient philoſophers aknowledged only one God. Other moderns, on the contrary, affirm that the paſſages which favour this opinion are only to be underſtood of Nature, the ſoul of the world, or the ſun; and place almoſt all theſe philoſophers among the number of the Spinoziſts and atheiſts[m]. But ſome critics have at length appeared, who, after having long applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the philoſophy of the ancients, have choſen the juſt medium between theſe two opinions. Among the number of theſe are Brucker and Moſheim, from whoſe reſearches I have derived conſiderable information.

Several cauſes contribute to render this important queſtion obſcure: I ſhall proceed to point out ſome of them; but I muſt firſt premiſe that the inquiry principally relates to the philoſophers who preceded Ariſtotle and Plato.

1. The greater part of theſe endeavoured to explain the formation and preſervation of the univerſe by the qualities of matter alone; and this method was ſo general, that Anaxagoras was cenſured for not having either always followed or never employed it. As, in the explanation of particular facts, he had recourſe ſometimes to natural cauſes, and ſometimes to that Intelligence which, according to him, reduced chaos to order, Ariſtotle reprehends

[k] Marmor. Sandvicenſe, cum Comment. et Notis Joan. Taylor.
[l] Corſin. Diſſert. in Append. ad Not. Græcorum.
[m] Moſhem. in Cudw. c. 4. § 26. t. i. p. 681.

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him for solving difficulties by the machinery of a Divinity [b], and Plato for not having exhibited to us in each phenomenon the ways of the Divine Wisdom [c]. We cannot therefore conclude from the silence of the first natural philosophers that they did not admit a God [d], or from some of their expressions that they meant to ascribe to matter all the perfections of the Divine Being.

2. Of all the philosophical works which were extant in the time of Aristotle, we only possess a part of his writings; a part of those of Plato; a small treatise, by the Pythagorean Timæus of Locris, on the soul of the world; and a treatise on the universe, by Ocellus of Lucania, another disciple of Pythagoras. As the design of Ocellus in this tract was less to explain the formation of the world than to prove its eternity, he had not occasion to introduce the agency of a Deity. But, in one of his works, a fragment of which has been preserved by Stobæus, he said, that harmony preserves the world, and that God is the author of that harmony [e]. I wish not, however, to rest on his authority; but Timæus, Plato, and Aristotle, have expressly taught the unity of God; and that not in cursory digressions, but in continued works, and the explanation of their systems founded on this opinion.

The writings of the other philosophers are lost. We only possess a few fragments of them, some of which declare expressly in favour of this doctrine; while others, though the number of these is very inconsiderable, seem to contradict it. Among the latter, there are some which are susceptible of different explanations, and others which have been collected and altered by authors of a different sect; such, for instance, as that Velleius whom Cicero introduces in his work on the Nature of the Gods, and whom he charges with having more than once disfigured the opinions of the ancients [f]. If, from such doubtful testimonies, we should judge of the opinions of the ancient philosophers, we should be in danger of acting by them as Father Hardouin, from a few detached expressions perverted from their true meaning, has by

[b] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 844.
[c] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 98.
[d] Bruck. t. i. p. 469 et 1174.
[e] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 32.
[f] Sam. Parker. Disput. de Deo, disput. 1. sect. 6. p. 16. Reimman. Hist. Atheism. cap. 22. § 6. p. 166. Bruck, t. i. p. 736. Mosheim. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 7. not. (y). t. i. p. 16.

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Deſcartes, Malebranche, Arnaud, and others, whom he has accuſed of atheiſm.

3. The firſt philoſophers laid it down as a principle, that nothing can be made out of nothing [g]. Hence they concluded either that the world had always exiſted ſuch as it is, or that, at leaſt, matter is eternal [h]. On the other hand, there exiſted an ancient tradition, according to which all things had been arranged in order by the Supreme Being [i]. Many philoſophers, unwilling to give up either the principal or the tradition, endeavoured to reconcile them. Some, as Ariſtotle, for example, ſaid that this being had formed the world from all eternity [k]; and others, with Plato, that he had produced it in time, and from a pre-exiſting matter, without form, and deſtitute of the perfections which appertain only to the Supreme Being [l]. Both were ſo far from imagining that their opinion was injurious to the belief of a Deity, that Ariſtotle did not heſitate to acknowledge God as the firſt cauſe of motion [m], and Plato to aſcribe to him alone the order of the univerſe [n]. But though the moſt ancient philoſophers were unacquainted with a creation, properly ſo called, many learned critics are decidedly of opinion, that they are not to be conſidered as atheiſts [o].

4. The ancients in general annexed a quite different idea to the words *incorporeal*, *immaterial*, *ſimple*, from that which they convey to us [p]. Some appear to have conceived the Deity as a pure, indiviſible, and unextended ſubſtance [q]; but by ſpiritual ſubſtance

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[g] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 316. Id. de Gener. et Corrupt. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 499, A. Id. de Xenoph. cap. 1. t. i. p. 1241. Democr. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 9. § 44. &c. &c.

[h] Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 31. t. i. p. 64.

[i] De Mund. ap. Ariſtot. cap. 6. t. i. p. 610.

[k] Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 452. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1001.

[l] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 31, &c. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 403.

[m] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1000, &c.

[n] Plat. in Tim. Moſhem. de Creat. ex Nihilo, § 16, &c. ap. Cudw. t. ii. p. 310, &c.

[o] Cudw. cap. 4. § 7. t. i. p. 276. Beauſobr. Hiſt. du Manich. liv. 5. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 239. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 508. Zimmerm. de Atheiſm. Plat. in Amæn. Litter. t. xii. p. 387.

[p] Bruck. t. i. p. 690. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 4. § 24. p. 630.

[q] Anaxagor. ap. Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 851, A; de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 620, D; lib. 3. c. 5. p. 652, E.

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the greater part only understood an infinitely subtle matter [r]. This error subsisted during a long succession of ages [s], and is even found in the writers whom the church reveres; and, according to some learned men, may be admitted without meriting the charge of atheism [t].

5. Besides the loss of the philosophical works which I have mentioned above, we have to lament that servitude to which the ancient philosophers were reduced. The people contemned and ridiculed their gods, but would admit of no change in their religious opinions. Anaxagoras had said that the sun was only a red-hot stone, or a plate of burning metal [u]. He deserved censure for broaching so absurd an opinion; but he was accused of impiety. Similar examples had long accustomed the philosophers to conceal their real sentiments; and hence the secret doctrine which it was not permitted to reveal to the profane. It is very difficult, says Plato [x], to form a just idea of the Author of the universe; and, even could we conceive it, we must be careful not to make it public. Hence those equivocal expressions which, in some measure, reconcile error and truth. The name of God is among the number; the application of which, by an ancient abuse, had been extended to whatever, throughout the universe, excites our admiration, or is excellent among men for influence or power. It is found, in the most religious authors, sometimes used in the singular, and sometimes in the plural number [y]; and, by its alternate appearance under each of these forms, both the populace and the learned were equally satisfied. When, therefore, an author gives the name of God to nature, to the soul of the world, or to the stars, we ought to inquire in what sense he employed the word; and whether above all these subjects, he did not place one God the author of all things.

6. The remark is especially applicable to two opinions which were generally received among the nations of antiquity. The

[r] Mosheim. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 26. t. i. p. 47. not. (y). Id. in cap. 5. § 3. t. ii. p. 360. Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. liv. 4. chap. 1. t. i. p. 474; chap. 2. p. 482.

[s] Mosheim. not. (l). in Cudw. cap. 5. sect. 3. § 26. t. ii. p. 434.

[t] Mosheim. in Cudw. cap. 3. § 4. t. i. p. 136. Beausobre Hist. du Manich. liv. 3. chap. 2. t. i. p. 485.

[u] Plut. de Superst. t. ii. p. 169, F Sotion. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 12. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 14. § 14. P 750.

[x] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

[y] Xenoph. Plat.

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firſt of theſe ſuppoſed that, above the race of mortals, there were genii, appointed to regulate the progreſs of the univerſe. If this idea did not derive its origin from an ancient and venerable tradition, it muſt at leaſt have taken birth in thoſe countries in which the ſovereign confided the government of his kingdom to the vigilance of his miniſters. It appears, in fact, that the Greeks received it from thoſe nations who lived under a monarchical government [z]: and, beſides, the author of a work falſely attributed to Ariſtotle, but nevertheleſs very ancient, obſerves, that, ſince it is unſuitable to the dignity of the king of Perſia to attend to all the minute affairs of his government, an inſpection ſo laborious is ſtill leſs ſuitable to the Supreme Being [a].

The ſecond opinion had for its object that continuity of actions and reactions which are obſervable throughout nature. Particular ſouls were imagined to reſide in the loadſtone [b], and in all bodies which appeared to contain a principle of motion and life; and a univerſal ſoul was ſuppoſed to be diffuſed throughout all the parts of this great whole. This idea was not contrary to the truth; for we certainly may be permitted to ſay that God has encloſed in matter an inviſible agent, or vital principle, which directs its operations [c]. But, by a conſequence of that abuſe which I have before ſpoken, the name of God was ſometimes given to the genii, and to the ſoul of the world; and hence the accuſations brought againſt many philoſophers, and in particular againſt Plato and Pythagoras.

As the former, as I have already ſaid, employs the name of God ſometimes in the ſingular, and ſometimes in the plural [d], he has been accuſed of inconſiſtency [e]. The anſwer to this charge was eaſy. In his Timæus, Plato, explaining his ideas in a regular manner, ſays that God formed the univerſe; and that he committed the government of it to ſubaltern gods, or genii, the works of his hands, the depoſitaries of his power, and obedient to his commands. Here the diſtinction between the Supreme God and the

[z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415.
[a] De Mund. ap. Ariſtot. cap. 6. t. i. p. 611.
[b] Thales. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. i. cap. 2. t. i. p. 620. D.
[c] Cudw. cap. 3. § 2. t. i. p. 99. Moſhem. ibid.
[d] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27. Id. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716. &c. &c.
[e] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 406. Bayle. Contin. des Penſ. t. iii. § 26.



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other deities is so clearly expressed, that it is impossible it should be mistaken; and Plato might attribute both to the sovereign and his ministers the same views, and solicit from both the same favours. If he sometimes gives the name of God to the world, the heavens, the stars, the earth, &c. it is manifest that he only means the genii, and the souls that God has dispersed through the different parts of the universe to direct its motions. I have found nothing in his other works which contradicts this doctrine.

The accusations against Pythagoras are not less heavy, and do not appear to be better founded. He admitted, it is said, a soul diffused throughout all nature, and closely united with all beings which it moves, preserves, and incessantly reproduces; the eternal principle from which our souls have emanated, and to which he gave the name of God [f]. It is added, that, since he had no other idea of the Divine Being, he ought to be considered as an atheist.

Some learned critics, however, have undertaken his defence against this accusation [g]; which is solely founded on a small number of passages, capable of a more favourable interpretation. Whole volumes would scarcely suffice to give even an abridgment of what has been written for and against this philosopher. I shall confine myself to a few reflections.

It cannot be proved that Pythagoras confounded the soul of the world with the Deity; but, on the contrary, every thing concurs to incline us to believe that he considered them as distinct. As we can only judge what his real sentiments were from those of his disciples, let us examine in what manner some of the latter have expressed themselves in those fragments of their writings that are still preserved.

God was not satisfied with having formed all things; he still preserves and governs them [h]. A general gives his orders to his army, a pilot to his mariners, and God to the world. He is with

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[f] Cicer de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 405. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 62. Minuc. Felix. p. 121 Cyrill. ap. Bruck. t i. p 1075. Justin. Martyr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 20.

[g] Beausobr. Hist. du. Manich. liv. 5. chap. 2. t. ii. p. 172. Reimann. Histor. Atheism. cap. 20. p. 150. et alii ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1081.

[h] Stheneid. ap. Stob. serm. 46. p. 332.

[i] Archyt. ibid. serm. 1. p. 15.

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respect to the universe what a king is with respect to his kingdom [k]. The universe could not subsist if it were not directed by harmony and providence [l]. God is good, wise, and happy in himself [m]. He is considered as the father of gods and men, because he diffuses his benefits over all his subjects. He is the equitable legislator, and enlightened preceptor, and governs all things with unremitting vigilance. It is our duty to model our virtues after his, which are pure, and exempt from every gross affection [n].

A king who fulfils his duties is the image of God [o]. The union which reigns between him and his subjects is the same with that which exists between God and the world [p].

There is only one God, most exalted, most powerful, and who governs all things. There are other deities who possess different degrees of power, and who obey his commands. They are with respect to him what the chorus is to the coryphæus, and what the soldiers are to the general [q].

These fragments so expressly contradict the idea which some have wished to give us of the opinions of Pythagoras, that several critics [r] have suggested that their authenticity is doubtful; but their opinion has been combated by other learned men equally versed in criticism [s]. And, in fact, the doctrine contained in these fragments is conformable to that of Timæus, who expressly distinguishes the Supreme Being from the soul of the world, which he supposes to have been produced by that Being. But it has been pretended that he had altered the system of his master [t]. Thus, to condemn Pythagoras, it shall suffice to adduce some passages, collected by writers who were posterior by five or six hundred years to that philosopher, and who possibly mistook the true sense of his words; and, to justify him, it shall not be sufficient to cite a multitude of authorities which depose in his favour, and especially that one of his disciples who lived almost at the same time with

[k] Diotog. ibid. serm. 46. p. 330.
[l] Hippod. ibid. serm. 101. p. 555. lin. 26.
[m] Stheneid. ibid. p. 332. Euryphant. ibid. p. 555.
[n] Stheneid. ibid. Archyt. ibid. serm. 1. p. 13.
[o] Diotog. ap. Steb. serm. 46. p. 330.
[p] Ecphant. ibid. p. 304.
[q] Onatus. ibid. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1, cap. 3. p. 4.
[r] Conring. et Thomas. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1040 et 1102.
[s] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 52.
[t] Bruck. t. i. p. 1093.



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him; and who, in a work which has been tranſmitted to us entire, explains a ſyſtem connected in all its parts!

We may, however, after the example of ſeveral able critics, reconcile the teſtimony of Timæus with the oppoſite teſtimonies which are brought againſt him. Pythagoras acknowledged one Supreme God, the author and preſerver of the world; a Being infinitely good and wiſe, who extends his providence over all things. This is atteſted by Timæus, and the other Pythagoreans of whoſe works the fragments I have cited above are the remains. Pythagoras ſuppoſed that God vivifies the world by a ſoul ſo connected with matter that it cannot be ſeparated from it. This ſoul may be conſidered as a ſubtle fire, as a pure flame. Some Pythagoreans gave it the name of God, becauſe they beſtowed that name on every thing which came out of the hands of the Supreme Being. This, unleſs I am miſtaken, is the only manner in which thoſe paſſages which occaſion doubts concerning the orthodoxy of Pythagoras can be explained.

Laſtly, It is poſſible that ſome Pythagoreans, wiſhing to preſent us with a ſenſible image of the action of God upon all nature, have thought that he exiſts undivided in every place, and that he *informs* the univerſe as our ſoul informs our body. This is the opinion which the high prieſt of Ceres ſeems to attribute to them in chapter xxx. of this work. I made uſe of it in that place, that I might repeat the expreſſions of the authors which I have cited in the margin, and not decide on queſtions which it is equally difficult and uſeleſs to diſcuſs. For, in fact, it is not from ſome equivocal expreſſions, and a long train of principles and conſequences, that we muſt judge of the real ſentiments of Pythagoras; but by his practical morality, and eſpecially by that inſtitution which he founded, of the aſſociates, in which he made it one of the principal duties to meditate on the Divinity [u]; to conſider themſelves as ever in his preſence; and to merit his favours by various kinds of abſtinence, by prayer, meditation, and purity of heart [x]. It muſt be confeſſed that theſe pious exerciſes are little ſuitable to a ſociety of Spinoziſts.

[u] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 69. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 686. Aur. Carm.

[x] Iambl. cap. 16. p. 57. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1313. Diod. Sic. Excerpt Val. p. 245. et 246.

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7. Let us now hear the author of the Thoughts on the Comet: "What is the ſtate of the queſtion, when we reaſon philoſophically concerning the unity of God? It is to inquire whether "there be an intelligence perfectly ſimple, totally diſtinct from "matter and the form of the world, and which produces all things. "He who affirms this, believes there is but one God; but he who "does not affirm it, how much ſoever he may ridicule the numerous deities of paganiſm, and declare his abhorrence of a multitude of gods, muſt in reality admit an infinity of gods." Bayle adds, that it would be very difficult to find, among the writers of antiquity, any who have admitted the unity of God, without underſtanding a compound ſubſtance. "Now ſuch a ſubſtance is only "one improperly, and by an abuſe of terms; or under the arbitrary notion of a certain whole, or a collective being [y]."

If to be ranked among the number of polytheiſts it is ſufficient not to entertain juſt ideas concerning the nature of ſpirits; we muſt, according to Bayle himſelf, condemn not only Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, and all the ancients [z], but likewiſe almoſt all thoſe who, down to our times, have written on theſe ſubjects. For let us obſerve what he ſays in his Dictionary [a]: "Until the "time of M. Deſcartes, all our doctors, whether divines or philoſophers, had aſcribed extenſion to ſpirits; infinite to God, and "finite to angels and rational ſouls. It is true, they maintain that "this extenſion is not material, nor compoſed of parts; and that "ſpirits exiſt entire in every part of ſpace that they occupy. "Hence are derived three kinds of local preſence; the firſt that "of bodies, the ſecond that of created ſpirits, and the third that "of God. The Carteſians have overthrown all theſe opinions: "they ſay that ſpirits have no kind of extenſion, or local preſence; but their doctrine has been rejected as abſurd. We may "therefore ſay that all our philoſophers and divines ſtill teach, conformably to the popular idea, that the ſubſtance of God is extended through infinite ſpace. But it is certain that this is to "ruin on the one ſide what they have erected on the other; it is

[y] Bayle Contin. des Penſ. t. iii. § 86.
[z] Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 4. § 27. not (n), p. 684.
[a] Art. Simonide. not. E.



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" in fact again to attribute to God that materiality which they " had denied to be consistent with his nature."

The question, therefore, is not such as it has been stated by Bayle; but turns on the inquiry whether Plato, and other philosophers antecedent to Plato, have acknowledged one First Being, eternal, infinitely intelligent, and infinitely good and wise, who has formed the universe from all eternity, or in time, who preserves and governs it by himself or by his ministers, and who has appointed, in this world or in another, rewards to virtue, and punishments for guilt. These doctrines are clearly expressed in the writings of almost all the ancient philosophers. If they are accompanied by gross errors concerning the essence of the Deity, we reply that these authors did not perceive them, or at least did not believe that they destroyed the unity of the Supreme Being [b]. We will likewise affirm that it is not just to reproach writers who are no more, with consequences which they would probably have rejected, had they known the danger to which they were exposed [c]. We likewise declare that it is not our intention to maintain that the philosophers of whom we speak entertained equally just ideas of the Deity with ourselves; but only that they were in general as remote from atheism as from polytheism.

## CHAP. LXXIX.—Page 299.

### *On the Moral Theology of the ancient Greek Philosophers.*

The first writers of the church carefully collected such testimonies of the poets and Grecian philosophers as were favourable to the opinion of the unity of God, that of a providence, and other truths equally essential [d].

They believed also that they ought to compare the morality of Christianity with that which the ancient philosophers have taught to various nations; and acknowledge that the latter, notwithstand-

[b] Mosheim. Dissert. de Creat. ap. Cudw. t. ii. p. 315.
[c] Id. in Cudw. cap. 4. t. i. p. 685.
[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. et 6. Lactant. Divin. instit. lib. 1. cap. 5. August. de Civit. Dei. lib. 8. cap. 9. lib. 18. cap. 47. Euseb. præpar. Evang. lib. 11. Minuc. Felix. &c. &c.

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ing its imperfection, had prepared the minds of men to receive the much more pure precepts of the former [e].

In theſe modern times, ſeveral works have appeared, which treat on the religious doctrines of the pagans [f]; and ſome truly learned critics, after having inveſtigated the ſubject with the moſt careful attention, have acknowledged that, on certain points, it merits the higheſt encomiums. The following is the teſtimony of M. Freret with reſpect to the moſt eſſential of its doctrines: "The "Egyptians and the Greeks, therefore, knew and adored the Su- "preme God, though in a manner unworthy of him [g]." As to their morality, let us hear the celebrated Heut, biſhop of Avranches: *Ac mihi quidem ſæpenumero contigit, ut cum ea legerem quæ ad vitam rectè probèque inſtituendam, vel a Platone, vel ab Ariſtotele, vel a Cicerone, vel ab Epicteto tradita ſunt, mihi viderer ex aliquibus Chriſtianorum ſcriptis capere normam pietatis* [h] *.

Authoriſed by ſuch great examples, and obliged by the plan of my work to give a ſketch of the moral theology of the Greeks, I am nevertheleſs far from ſuppoſing that it can enter into competition with that taught by Chriſtianity. Without expatiating on the excellencies which diſtinguiſh the work of Divine Wiſdom, I ſhall confine myſelf to a ſingle article. The legiſlators of Greece were ſatisfied with ſaying, *Honour the gods*. The Goſpel ſays, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyſelf* [i]. Saint Auguſtin affirms that this law, which contains within it, and gives life to all the reſt, was in part known to Plato [k]. But what Plato taught in this reſpect was only a conſequence of his theory concerning the ſovereign good; and had ſo little influence on the morality of the Greeks, that Ariſtotle declares it would be abſurd to ſay that we love Jupiter [l].

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e Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 331. 366. 376. &c.

f Mourg. Plat. Theolog. du Pythagor. Thomaſſin, Meth. d'enſeigner les Lettres Hum. Id. Meth. d'enſeigner la Philoſophie. Burigny, Theolog. Paſcan. Cudw. Syſt. Intellect. paſſim.

g Def. de la Chronol. p. 379 et 380.

h Huet. Alnetan. Quæſt. lib. 2. p. 92.

* For frequently while I have read the moral leſſons inculcated in the works of Plato, Ariſtotle, Cicero, or Epictetus, I have imagined that I was reading the pious precepts of Chriſtian writers.

i Luke, chap. x. v. 27.

k Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 9.

l Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 187, D.



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## CHAP. LXXX.—Page 309.

### *On ſome Citations in this Work.*

At the period which I have choſen, hymns and other poems were circulated in Greece, which were attributed to very ancient poets: but perſons of learning knew ſo well they were not authentic, that Ariſtotle even doubted whether any ſuch poet as Orpheus had ever exiſted [m]. Afterwards the moſt celebrated names were placed at the head of a number of writings, the true authors of which were unknown. Such are ſome treatiſes found at preſent in the editions of the works of Plato or Ariſtotle. I have quoted them occaſionally, becauſe they are authority; and ſometimes under the names of thoſe great men, for brevity, and becauſe they are inſerted in their works.

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## SAME CHAP.—Page 310.

### *On the Number of Theatrical Pieces extant in Greece towards the Middle of the Fourth Century before Chriſt.*

On the authority of Suidas, Athenæus, and other authors, whoſe teſtimonies have been collected by Fabricius [n], I have made the number of theſe pieces amount to about three thouſand. The eſtimates of the ſame writers, with reſpect to each article in particular, do not merit equal regard. But it muſt be obſerved, that they have cited a great number of dramatic authors who lived before the younger Anacharſis, or in his time, without ſpecifying the number of pieces they wrote. If there is exaggeration on one ſide, there is omiſſion on the other; and the reſult cannot greatly differ from the eſtimate I have given. If, inſtead of confining myſelf to a particular period, I had followed the whole hiſtory of the Greek theatre, the number would have been tripled or quadrupled. For, in the few works which can be of uſe in the pre-

[m] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 38. t. ii. p. 429.

[n] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 736.

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ſent inquiry, mention is made of about three hundred and fifty poets, who had written tragedies and comedies [o].

We only poſſeſs entire ſeven dramatic pieces of Æſchylus, ſeven of Sophocles, nineteen of Euripides, and eleven of Ariſtophanes; in the whole, forty-four. To theſe may be added the nineteen comedies of Plautus, and the ſix of Terence, which are copies or imitations of Greek comedies.

Time has ſpared no branch of Grecian literature. Hiſtorical compoſitions, works relative to the ſciences, ſyſtems of philoſophy, treatiſes on politics, morals, medicine, &c. have almoſt all periſhed. The writings of the Romans have experienced the ſame fate. Thoſe of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and ſeveral other enlightened nations, have been loſt in almoſt one general wreck.

The copies of a work were formerly multiplied with ſo much labour, ſuch great wealth was requiſite to collect even a ſmall library, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that knowledge penetrated from one country to another, or even was preſerved in the place where it had originated. This conſideration ought to render us very circumſpect with regard to the knowledge which we grant or refuſe to the ancients.

The defect of the means to preſerve and communicate their diſcoveries, which ſo often obſtructed the philoſophers of antiquity in their reſearches, is no longer an impediment to the moderns. The art of printing, that happy offspring of chance, and the moſt important perhaps of all inventions, facilitates and preſerves the intercourſe of ideas between all ages and nations. Knowledge once acquired can now never become extinct; and may perhaps be increaſed to a degree as much ſuperior to that we at preſent poſſeſs, as our attainments in ſcience are ſuperior to thoſe of the ancients. The influence which the art of printing has hitherto had, and that which it may have in future on the minds of men, would be an excellent ſubject to diſcuſs.

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[o] Id. ibid. p. 662 et 736.

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## SAME CHAP.—PAGE 321.

### *On the Griphi and Impromptus.*

THE word *griph* (γρῖφος) signifies a net, and was the name given to certain enigmatical queſtions which were ſportively propoſed during an entertainment, and which the gueſts were frequently puzzled to unravel [p]. Thoſe who were unable to anſwer them were ſubjected to a forfeit.

There were different kinds of griphi. Some were properly enigmas. Such is the following: "I am very large at my birth, and likewiſe in old age; but very ſmall when at maturity [q]." *A ſhadow.*—Such alſo is this: "There are two ſiſters who inceſſantly beget each other [r]." *Day and Night*, both which words are feminine in Greek.

Other griphi turn on the reſemblance of names; as, for example—"What is that which is at once found on the earth, in the ſea, and in the heavens [s]?" *The dog, the ſerpent, the bear.* The names of theſe animals have been given to certain conſtellations.

Others were formed by a play on letters, ſyllables, or words. It was required perhaps to recite a verſe which began with a certain letter, or one in which another certain letter was not found, or one which began and ended with certain ſyllables [t]; or verſes the feet of which were compoſed of the ſame number of letters, or which might be tranſpoſed without injury to the ſenſe or harmony [u].

The latter griphi, and ſome others which I might adduce [x], having ſome reſemblance to the French *logogriphes*, I have thought I might be allowed to give them that name in chap. xxv. of this work.

The poets, and eſpecially the writers of comedies, frequently made uſe of griphi. It appears that collections of them have been

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[p] Suid. in Γρῖφ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 20.
[q] Theodect. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 18. p. 451, F.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 453, B.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 448. D.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 452, D.
[x] Id. ibid.

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compiled; and it is one of these collections which I suppose Eudid to have had in his library.

I have said in the same place that he also had in his library certain impromptus; and have cited in the margin a passage from Athenæus, who has given us six verses of Simonides, composed extempore. Some may hence be inclined to inquire whether the practice which in Italy is called *improvisating* was known to the Greeks, who were endowed with an imagination at least as lively as that of the Italians, and whose language was still better adapted to poetry than the Italian. The following are two facts, one of which is prior by two centuries, and the other posterior by three, to the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. 1. The first essays of tragedy were entirely extempore, and Aristotle gives us to understand that they were in verse [y]. 2. Strabo mentions a poet of Tarsus in Cilicia, who lived in his time, and who could declaim in such elegant verse on any proposed subject, that he seemed to be immediately inspired by Apollo. He especially succeeded in subjects for tragedy [z]. Strabo adds, that this talent was not uncommon among the inhabitants of Tarsus [a]; and hence, no doubt, is derived the epithet *Tarsicus*, which was given to certain poets who produced, without premeditation, tragic scenes at the pleasure of those by whom they were requested [b].

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y Aristot. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 654, E. et 655, B.

z Strab. lib. 14. p. 676.

a Id. ibid. p. 674.

b Diogen. Laert. lib. 4. § 58. Menag. ibid.

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# ADVERTISEMENT

## CONCERNING

## THE FOLLOWING TABLES.

I HAVE imagined that these Tables might be useful to those who should read, and also to those who should not read, the Travels of the Younger Anacharsis.

The first contains the principal epochas of the Grecian history to the reign of Alexander. I have carefully examined them all; and though I have chosen the most able guides, I have not implicitly followed their opinions, but compared them with those of other chronologists.

I have given tables of the measures, weights, and money of Athens; because these frequently occur in my work. The tables of the itinerary measures of the Romans were necessary to ascertain those of the Greeks.

I have given no tables of the cubic measures of the ancients, nor the money of the different states of Greece; because I have rarely had occasion to speak of these, and have found only uncertainty in my inquiries concerning them.

In subjects of this kind we frequently can only obtain, by our most elaborate researches, the right to confess our ignorance; and this I think that I have acquired.

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# TABLES.

I. Principal Epochas of the Grecian History, from the Foundation of the Kingdom of Argos to the reign of Alexander.

II. Names of Persons who have distinguished themselves in Literature and the Arts, from the Time of the Trojan War to the Reign of Alexander, inclusively.

III. Names of illustrious Men, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

IV. Roman Measures reduced to French (and English).

V. Roman Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

VI. Roman paces reduced to French Toises (and English Yards).

VII. Roman Miles reduced to French Toises (and English Miles, &c.).

VIII. Grecian Feet reduced to French (and English) Feet.

IX. Stadia reduced to French Toises, Roman Miles (and English Measures).

X. Stadia estimated in French Leagues of 2500 Toises each.

XI. Athenian Money reduced to French (and English).

XII. Grecian Weights reduced to French (and English).

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# TABLE I.

## Containing the principal Epochas of the Grecian Hiſtory, from the Foundation of the Kingdom of Argos to the Reign of Alexander.

*** It will be proper to premiſe, that, for the dates preceding the firſt of the Olympiads, I have almoſt always followed the calculations of the late M. Freret, as he has given them either in his work intitled *Defenſe de la Chronologie*, or in the ſeveral papers of which he is the author, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. In the dates poſterior to the firſt Olympiad, I have commonly followed the *Faſti Attici* of father Corſini.

| | Years bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Colony led by Inachus to Argos | 1970 |
| Phoroneus, his ſon | 1945 |
| Deluge of Ogyges in Bœotia | 1796 |
| Colony of Cecrops to Athens | 1657 |
| Colony of Cadmus to Thebes | 1594 |
| Colony of Danaus to Argos | 1586 |
| Deluge of Deucalion in the environs of Parnaſſus, or in the ſouthern part of Theſſaly | 1580 |
| Birth of the arts in Greece | 1547 |
| Reign of Perſeus at Argos | 1458 |
| Foundation of Troy | 1425 |
| Arrival of Pelops in Greece | 1423 |
| Birth of Hercules | 1383 |
| Birth of Theſeus | 1367 |
| Expedition of the Argonauts may be placed towards the year | 1360 |
| Atreus begins to reign at Olympia | 1345 |
| Firſt war of Thebes between Eteocles and Polynices, ſons of Oedipus | 1329 |
| War of Theſeus againſt Creon, king of Thebes | 1326 |
| Second war of Thebes, or war of the Epigoni | 1319 |
| Death of Theſeus | 1305 |
| Death of Atreus | 1301 |
| Taking of Troy | 1282 |
| Return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus | 1202 |
| Emigration of the Ionians into Aſia Minor, where they found the cities of Epheſus, Miletus, Colophon, &c. | 1076 |
| Death of Codrus, laſt king of Athens | 1092 |
| Inſtitution of the perpetual Archons | Idem. |
| Birth of Lycurgus | 926 |
| Birth of Homer towards the year | 900 |
| Reſtoration of the Olympic games by Iphitus | 884 |
| Legiſlation of Lycurgus | 845 |
| Death of Lycurgus | 841 |



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## EIGHTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

| Olympiads. | | Years bef. C. |
|---|---|---|
| Ol. i. | OLYMPIAD in which Coroebus gained the prize of the ſtadium, and which has ſince been made the principal æra of chronology - - - - - - | 776 |
| | (Each Olympiad contains four years; each of which, beginning at the new moon that follows the ſummer ſolſtice, correſponds to two Julian years, and includes the ſix laſt months of the firſt and the ſix firſt months of the following). | |
| Ol. ii. yr. 3. | Theopompus, grandſon of Charilaus, and nephew of Lycurgus, aſcends the throne of Lacedæmon - - | 770 |
| Ol. v. 2. | The people of Chalcis in Eubœa ſend a colony to Naxos in Sicily - - - - - - - | 758 |
| 3. | Foundation of Syracuſe and Corcyra by the Corinthians | 757 |
| | Foundation of Sybaris and Crotona towards the ſame time. | |
| Ol. vii. 1. | The people of Naxos in Sicily ſend a colony to Catana | 752 |
| | The authority of the Archons of Athens ceaſes to be for life, and is limited to ten years. | |
| Ol. ix. 2. | Beginning of the firſt Meſſenian war - - - | 743 |
| Ol. xiv. 1. | End of the firſt Meſſenian war - - - - | 724 |
| | The double courſe of the ſtadium introduced at the Olympic games. | |
| Ol. xviii. 1. | Re-eſtabliſhment of wreſtling and the pentathlum at the Olympic games - - - - - - | 708 |
| | Phalantus, a Lacedæmonian, conducts a colony to Tarentum. | |

## SEVENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ol. xxiii. 4. | BEGINNING of the ſecond Meſſenian war, 39 years after the end of the firſt - - - - - - - | 684 |
| | About the ſame time the poet Tyrtæus flouriſhed. | |
| Ol. xxiv. 1. | The Archons of Athens became annual - - | 683 |
| Ol. xxv. | Race for chariots with four horſes inſtituted at Olympia towards the year - - - - - - | 680 |
| Ol. xxviii. 1. | The ſecond Meſſenian war ended by the taking of Ira | 668 |
| Ol. xxix. | A part of the Meſſenians ſettle at Zancle in Sicily, which city afterwards takes the name of Meſſina - | 664 |
| Ol. xxx. 3. | Cypſelus obtains the throne of Corinth, and reigns 30 years | 658 |
| | Byzantium founded by the people of Megara. | |
| Ol. xxxiii. 1. | The combat of the pancratium inſtituted at the Olympic games - - - - - - - | 648 |
| Ol. xxxiv. 1. | Terpander, poet and muſician of Leſbos, flouriſhed - | 644 |
| Ol. xxxv. 1. | Birth of Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionian ſchool | 640 |
| 3. | Birth of Solon - - - - - - | 638 |
| Ol. xxxvii. 1 | Running and wreſtling of children introduced at the Olympic games - - - - - - - | 632 |
| Ol. xxxviii. 1. | Death of Cypſelus, tyrant of Sicyon. His ſon Periander ſucceeds him - - - - - - - | 628 |
| Ol. xxxix. 1. | Archonſhip and legiſlation of Draco at Athens - - | 624 |
| Ol. xli. 1. | Boxing between children inſtituted at the Olympic games | 616 |



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| Ol. xlii. 1. | Murder of the adherents of Cylon at Athens | 612 |
| 3. | Birth of the philosopher Anaximander of Miletus | 610 |
| Ol. xliv. 1. | Alcæus and Sappho flourished | 604 |

## SIXTH CENTURY

### BEFORE CHRIST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ol. xlv. | BIRTH of Pythagoras towards the year<br>He died aged about ninety years. | 600 |
| 4. | Eclipse of the sun predicted by Thales, which took place during the battle between Cyaxares king of the Medes and Alyattes king of Lydia, on the 9th of July | 597 |
| | Epimenides of Crete purifies the city of Athens from the pollution incurred by the murder of the adherents of Cylon. | |
| Ol. xlvi. 1. | Solon induces the council of the Amphictyons to resolve to march their forces against the people of Cirrha, accused of impiety towards the temple of Delphi | 596 |
| 3. | Archonship and legislation of Solon | 594 |
| 4. | Solon travels into Egypt, Cyprus, Lydia, &c. | 593 |
| l. xlvii. | Arrival of the sage Anacharsis at Athens | 592 |
| | Pittacus begins to reign at Mytilene | 590 |
| 3. | He retains the sovereign power during ten years. | |
| xlviii. 3. | Competition of musicians instituted at the Pythian games<br>These games were celebrated at Delphi in the spring. | 585 |
| 4. | Death of Periander: the Corinthians recover their liberty. | |
| Ol. xlix. 4. | First Pythiad, serving for an epocha to calculate the years in which the public games were celebrated at Delphi | 581 |
| Ol. l. 1. | First attempts in comedy by Susarion | 580 |
| | Some years after Thespis makes his first essays in tragedy. | |
| Ol. li. 2. | Anaximander, philosopher of the school of Miletus, becomes celebrated | 575 |
| Ol. lii. | Æsop flourished | 572 |
| 3. | Death of Pittacus of Mytilene | 570 |
| Ol. lv. 1. | Pisistratus usurps the sovereign power at Athens | 560 |
| | Cyrus ascends the throne. Beginning of the empire of the Persians. | |
| 2. | Solon dies aged 80 years | 559 |
| 3. | Birth of the poet Simonides | 558 |
| Ol. lviii. 1. | Death of Thales | 548 |
| | The poet Theognis flourished. | |
| | Burning of the temple of Delphi. | |
| Ol. lix. 2. | Battle of Thymbra. Crœsus king of Lydia is defeated. Cyrus takes the city of Sardis | 543 |
| Ol. lxi. 1. | Thespis represents his Alcestis. Prizes instituted for tragedy | 536 |
| Ol. lxii. 1. | Anacreon flourished | 532 |
| 4. | Death of Cyrus. His son Cambyses succeeds him | 529 |
| Ol. lxiii. 1. | Death of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens.<br>His sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeed him | 528 |
| 4. | Birth of the poet Æschylus | 525 |
| Ol. lxiv. | Chœrilus, the tragic author flourished | 524 |
| 3. | Death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, after a reign of eleven years | 522 |
| 4. | Darius, son of Hystaspes, begins his reign in Persia | 521 |
| Ol. lxv. 3. | Birth of Pindar | 517 |
| Ol lxvi. 3. | Death of Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens | 514 |



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| Ol. lxvii. 3. | Darius retakes Babylon | 510 |
| | Hippias driven from Athens. | |
| | Cliſthenes increaſes the number of the tribes at Athens from four to ten. | |
| Ol. lxviii. 1. | Expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians | 508 |
| Ol. lxix. 1. | Ionia revolts againſt Darius. Burning of Sardis | 504 |

## FIFTH CENTURY

### BEFORE CHRIST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ol. lxx. 1. | RACE for chariots drawn by two mules introduced at the Olympic games | 500 |
| | Birth of the philoſopher Anaxagoras. | |
| | Æſchylus, at the age of 25 years, is a competitor for the prize in tragedy with Pratinas and Chœrilus | |
| 4. | Birth of Sophocles | 497 |
| Ol. lxxi. 1. | Taking and deſtruction of Miletus by the Perſians. Phrynicus, the diſciple of Theſpis, makes it the ſubject of a tragedy. He firſt introduced female characters on the ſtage | 496 |
| | Birth of Democritus. He lived 90 years. | |
| 2. | Birth of the hiſtorian Hellanicus, of Leſbos | 495 |
| Ol. lxxii. 2. | Gelon, king of Syracuſe | 491 |
| 3. | Battle of Marathon, the 29th of September, gained by Miltiades | 490 |
| 4. | Miltiades having been unſucceſsful in the ſiege of Paros, is proſecuted, and dies | 489 |
| Ol. lxxiii. 1. | Chionides of Athens brings a comedy on the ſtage | 488 |
| 3. | Death of Darius king of Perſia. Xerxes, his ſon, ſucceeds him | 485 |
| 4. | Birth of Euripides | 484 |
| | Birth of Herodotus. | |
| Ol. lxxiv. 4. | Xerxes paſſes the winter at Sardis | 481 |
| | Xerxes croſſes the Helleſpont in the ſpring, and continues there a month. | |
| Ol. lxxv. 1. | Battle at Thermopylæ in the beginning of Auguſt. Xerxes arrives at Athens towards the end of that month | 480 |
| | Battle at Salamis, the 20th of October. | |
| | Birth of the orator Antiphon. | |
| 2. | Battles of Platæa and Mycale the 22d of September | 479 |
| Ol. lxxvii. 1. | Birth of Thucydides | 471 |
| | Baniſhment of Themiſtocles. | |
| 3. | Victory of Cimon over the Perſians near the river Eurymedon | 470 |
| | Æſchylus and Sophocles diſpute the prize of tragedy, which is adjudged to the latter | 469 |
| | Birth of Socrates. | |
| | Cimon removes the bones of Theſeus to Athens. | |
| Ol. lxxviii. 1. | Death of Simonides | 468 |
| 2. | Death of Ariſtides | 467 |
| 4. | Death of Xerxes. Artaxerxes Longimanus ſucceeds him, and reigns forty years | 465 |
| Ol. lxxix. 1. | Earthquake at Lacedæmon. Third Meſſenian war. This war laſted ten years | 464 |
| 4. | Cimon leads a body of Athenian troops to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, who ſuſpecting them of perfidy, ſend | |

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them back, which becomes a ſource of miſunderſtanding between the two ſtates. Baniſhment of Simon - 461
Ol. lxxx. 1. Birth of Hippocrates - - - - 460
2. Birth of the orator Lyſias - - - - 459
Ol. lxxxi. 1. Death of Æſchylus - - - - 456
The Athenians under the conduct of Tolmides, and afterward under that of Pericles, lay waſte the coaſts of Laconia.
2. Cratinus and Plato, poets of the ancient comedy 455
Ol. lxxxii. 1. Ion brings his tragedies on the ſtage - - 452
Death of Pindar.
3. Truce for five years between the ſtates of Peloponneſus and the Athenians concluded by Cimon, who had been recalled from baniſhment, and who ſoon after led an army into Cyprus - - - - 450
4. Cimon obliges the king of Perſia to ſign a treaty with the Greeks diſhonourable to that monarch.
Death of Cimon - - - - 449
Death of Themiſtocles, aged 65 years.
Ol. lxxxiii. 3. The Eubœans and Megareans ſeparate from the Athenians, who reduce them under the conduct of Pericles 446
Expiration of the truce of five years between the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. Another truce of thirty years - - - - - 445
Ol. lxxxiv. 1. The philoſophers Meliſſus, Protagoras, and Empedocles flouriſhed - - - - - 444
Herodotus reads his hiſtory at the Olympic games.
Pericles remains without competitors. He had taken part in the government for 25 years before, and enjoyed an almoſt abſolute power during 15 years after.
3. Euripides, aged 43 years, gains the prize for tragedy for the firſt time - - - - - 442
Ol. lxxxv. 3. The Athenians ſend a colony to Amphipolis - 437
Building of the Propylæa in the citadel of Athens.
Reſtoration of comedy, which had been prohibited three years before.
Ol. lxxxvi. 1. The war between the Corinthians and Corcyreans commences - - - - - 436
Birth of Iſocrates.
Then flouriſhed the philoſophers Empedocles, Hippocrates, Gorgias, Hippias, Prodicus, Zeno of Elea, Parmenides, and Socrates.
Ol. lxxxvii. 1. The 27th of June, Meton obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice, and invented a new cycle, which he made commence at the new moon which followed the ſummer ſolſtice, and correſponded to the 16th of July - - - - 432
The civil year, before, began with the new moon which followed the winter ſolſtice. It afterwards commenced with that which follows the ſummer ſolſtice, at which time alſo the new Archons entered on their office.
Beginning of the Peloponneſian war, in the ſpring of the year - - - - - 431
3. Plague of Athens - - - - 530
Eupolis begins to write comedies.
Birth of Plato, in the month of May - - 429
4. Death of Pericles towards the month of October.
Ol. lxxxviii. 1. Death of Anaxagoras - - - 428
2. The Athenians ſeize on Mytilene, and divide among them the lands of Leſbos - - - - 427
The orator Gorgias perſuades the Athenians to ſuccour the Leontines in Sicily.
3. The Athenians purify the iſle of Delos - 426



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| Ol. lxxxviii. 4. | The Athenians take Pylos in Peloponneſus - | 425 |
| | Death of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Xerxes II. ſucceeds him. | |
| Ol. lxxxix. 1. | Battle of Delium between the Athenians and Bœotians, in which the latter gain the victory. Socrates there ſaves the life of young Xenophon - - - - | 424 |
| | Death of Xerxes II. king of Perſia. Darius Nothus ſucceeds him, and reigns 19 years. | |
| | Firſt repreſentation of the Clouds of Ariſtophanes | 423 |
| 2. | The temple of Juno at Argos burnt. | |
| 3. | Battle of Amphipolis, in which Braſidas the general of the Lacedæmonians, and Cleon the general of the Athenians, are ſlain - - - - - - | 422 |
| | Truce for fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians - - - - | 421 |
| 4. | The Athenians, under various pretexts, break the truce, and enter into an alliance with the Argives, the Eleans, and the Mantineans. | |
| Ol. xci. 1. | Alcibiades gains the prize at the Olympic games - | 416 |
| | The Athenians reduce Melos. Expedition of the Athenians into Sicily - - - - - | 415 |
| 3. | The truce for fifty years concluded between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, ends by an open rupture, after having continued ſix years and ten months - | 414 |
| | The Lacedæmonians ſeize on and fortify Decelia - - | 413 |
| 4. | The army of the Athenians is totally defeated in Sicily. Nicias and Demoſthenes put to death in the month of September. | |
| Ol. xcii. 1. | Alcibiades forſakes the Lacedæmonians - | 411 |
| | Four hundred citizens placed at the head of the government towards the beginning of the year. | |
| 2. | The four hundred are depoſed, and the democracy re-eſtabliſhed, towards the month of July of the ſame year. | |
| | Baniſhment of Hyperbolus. The oſtraciſm laid aſide. | |
| Ol. xciii. 2. | Death of Euripides towards the year - | 407 |
| 3. | Dionyſius the Elder aſcends the throne of Syracuſe | 406 |
| | Death of Sophocles. | |
| | Battle of Arginuſæ, in which the fleet of the Athenians defeats that of the Lacedæmonians. | |
| | Lyſander gains a ſignal victory over the Athenians near Ægos-Potamos. | |
| 4. | Death of Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes Mnemon ſucceeds him. | |
| | Athens taken by the Lacedæmonians towards the end of April of the year - - - - - - | 404 |
| Ol. xciv. 1. | Lyſander eſtabliſhes at Athens thirty magiſtrates, known by the name of the thirty tyrants. Their authority was aboliſhed eight months after. | |
| 2. | The democracy re-eſtabliſhed at Athens. Archonſhip of Euclid. Ambeſty - - - - | 403 |
| 4. | Expedition of the younger Cyrus - - - - | 401 |

## FOURTH CENTURY

### BEFORE CHRIST.

| | | |
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| Ol. xcv. 1. | DEATH of Socrates towards the month of June - | 399 |
| Ol. xcvi 3. | Conon defeats the Lacedæmonians near Cnidus | 394 |

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Ageſilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, defeats the Thebans at Coronea - - - - - - 393
Ol. xcvi. 4. Conon rebuilds the walls of the Piræus.
Ol. xcvii. 1. The Athenians, under the conduct of Thraſybulus, make themſelves maſter of a part of Leſbos - - 392
Death of Thucydides - - - - - 391
Ol. xcviii. 2. Peace of Antalcidas between the Perſians and Greeks 387
3. Birth of Demoſthenes - - - - - 385
Ol. xcix. 1. Birth of Ariſtotle - - - - - 384
Ol. c. 3. Pelopidas, and the other exiles from Thebes, leave Athens, and ſeize the citadel of Thebes, which had been taken by the Lacedæmonians a ſhort time before - 378
4. Naval battle near Naxos, in which Chabrias, the Athenian general, defeats the Lacedæmonians - - 377
Ol. ci. 2. Eubulus of Athens, author of ſeveral comedies - 376
Timotheus, the Athenian general, takes Corcyra, and defeats the Lacedæmonians at Leucas - - 375
3. Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Perſia, gives peace to Greece. The Lacedæmonians preſerve the empire of the land, and the Athenians obtain that of the ſea - 374
Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
4. Appearance of a comet in the winter 373 and 372 - 372
Earthquakes in Peloponneſus. The cities of Helice and Bura deſtroyed.
Ol. cii. 1. Platæa deſtroyed by the Thebans.
2. Battle of Leuctra the 8th of July. The Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas, defeat the Lacedæmonians under the command of their king Cleombrotus, who is ſlain - - - - - 371
Foundation of the city of Megalopolis in Arcadia.
3. Death of Jaſon, tyrant of Pheræ - - 369
4. Expedition of Epaminondas into Laconia. Foundation of the city of Meſſene. The Athenians, under the command of Iphicrates, come to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians.
Aphareus, the adopted ſon of Iſocrates, begins to write tragedies - - - - - 368
Ol. ciii. 1. Eudoxus of Cnidus flouriſhed.
Death of Dionyſius the elder, king of Syracuſe. His ſon, of the ſame name, ſucceeds him in the ſpring of the year 367
2. Ariſtotle comes to reſide at Athens when eighteen years of age - - - - - - 366
Ol. civ. 1. Pelopidas attacks and defeats Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, and is himſelf ſlain in the battle - - - 363
2. Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas, on the 12th of the month of Scirophorion, which correſponds to the 5th of July - - - - 362
3. Death of Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmon.
Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus ſucceeds him.
Third voyage of Plato into Sicily towards the beginning of the year - - - - - 361
He remained there 15 or 16 months.
Ol. cv. 1. Philip aſcends the throne of Macedon - - 360
3. The ſocial war. The cities of Chios, Rhodes, Cos, and Byzantium detach themſelves from the Athenians - 358
4. Expedition of Dion into Sicily. He embarks at Zacynthus in the month of Auguſt of the year - - 357
Eclipſe of the moon the 9th of Auguſt.
Beginning of the Sacred war - - - 356
Ol. cvi. 1. Birth of Alexander towards the end of July.
Philip his father crowned conqueror at the Olympic games.



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| Ol. cvi. 3. | Iphicrates and Timotheus profecuted, and deprived of the command of the army | 354 |
| | Demoſthenes aſcends the roſtrum for the firſt time. | |
| 4. | Death of Mauſolus, king of Caria. Artemiſia, his wife and ſiſter, ſucceeds him, and reigns two years | 353 |
| Ol. cvii. 4. | The Olynthians, beſieged by Philip, implore ſuccour from the Athenians | 349 |
| Ol. cviii. 1. | Death of Plato in the month of May | 347 |
| 2. | Treaty of alliance and peace between Philip and the Athenians concluded by the latter the 19th of March, and ſigned by that prince towards the middle of May | 346 |
| | Philip ſeizes on Phocis in the month of June of the ſame year. | |
| Ol. cix. 2. | Timoleon drives king Dionyſius from Syracuſe, and ſends him to Corinth | 343 |
| 3. | Birth of Epicurus in the month of January | 341 |
| | Birth of Menander about the ſame time. | |
| Ol. cx. 3. | Battle of Chæronea the 3d of Auguſt | 338 |
| | Death of Iſocrates. | |
| 4. | Death of Timoleon | 337 |
| Ol. cxi. 3. | Death of Philip king of Macedon | 334 |
| Ol. cxiii. 1. | Philemon begins to produce his comedies | 328 |
| Ol. cxiv. 1. | Death of Alexander in the beginning of the year | 323 |
| | Death of Diogenes. | |
| 3. | Death of Ariſtotle | 322 |
| | Death of Demoſthenes. | |

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# TABLE II.

## Containing the Names of Perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Literature and the Arts, from the time of the Trojan War to the Reign of Alexander, inclusively.

THE object of the following table is to exhibit, in a compendious and diſtinct manner, the ſucceſſive progreſs of knowledge among the Greeks. In it we ſhall ſee that the number of men of literature and artiſts, which was very limited in the earlieſt ages, increaſed prodigiouſly in the ſixth century before Chriſt, and continued to increaſe during the fifth, and in the fourth, in which the reign of Alexander ended. We may hence infer that the ſixth century before Chriſt was the æra of the firſt and perhaps the greateſt revolution that has taken place in the minds of men.

It will alſo ſhow what cities have produced the greateſt number of men of genius, and the branches of literature that have been cultivated with moſt ſucceſs in each age.

This table may ſerve as an introduction to the hiſtory of the arts and ſciences of the Greeks; I am indebted for it to the friendſhip of the baron de Sainte Croix, of the Academy of Belles Lettres. His extenſive learning muſt leave no doubt of the accuracy with which he has conducted his reſearches; and we may judge of the difficulty of his undertaking from the remarks which he has communicated to me, and which I here ſubjoin.

" In conſtructing this table, I have neglected no means of aſcertaining with " exactneſs the country and profeſſion of the perſons whoſe names it contains; " I have had recourſe to the original ſources, and conſidered and compared diffe- " rent teſtimonies, without implicitly following either Pliny, with reſpect to ar- " tiſts, or Diogenes Laertius, with regard to philoſophers.

" I have determined the age in which theſe men lived by expreſs authorities; " or, when I have wanted theſe, by the analogy of facts, or calculating the ge- " nerations; and rarely have my conjectures been unſupported by proofs.

" The three firſt ages are very barren, and preſent great uncertainty. I have " excluded from them all imaginary and fabulous perſonages.

" I have given the name of each great man in the age in which he flouriſhed. " Thus Socrates is placed in the fifth century before Chriſt, though he was put " to death in the beginning of the fourth; which may alſo ſhow that I have not " meant to place a great diſtance between two perſons, though I have given their



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" names in different ages, as may be clearly seen in the example of Hesiod and " Homer, with respect to whose age I have followed the Parian Chronicle, from " which I have never departed in my calculations.

" I have frequently placed a whole generation between the master and the " disciple. Sometimes also I have given the name of the latter immediately after " that of the former, as in the case of Cherisiphron, and Metagenes, his son, be- " cause they jointly superintended the building of the famous temple of Ephesus, " &c. &c.

" To exhibit the reigning taste in each age, and the progress of every science " and art, I have sometimes mentioned persons who were not of equal celebrity; " but the union of all these names was necessary. Thus, by casting our eyes " over the fourth century, we may judge of the passion which the Greeks had " conceived for philosophy, when we observe so great a number of the disciples " of Socrates or Plato in immediate succession.

" When a science or art has appeared to me neglected in any age, I have " sought out even the most inconsiderable person by whom it has been cultivated.

" When a man of genius is mentioned who had opened to himself a new track " in any art or science, I have specified it by a distinct name, as painting in one " colour, the middle comedy, &c. which had for their inventors Cleophantus, " Sotades, &c.; but afterwards I have not repeated the specific distinction. I " have termed Herophilus Physician-anatomist, because he first seriously applied " himself to anatomy; and I have styled Philinus an Empirical Physician, and " Erasistratus a Dogmatical Physician; because the former gave occasion to the " empirical, and the latter to the dogmatical sect, &c.

" I have always given the art or science in which each great man was most " eminent. All the philosophers, and especially those of the school of Pythago- " ras, embraced the whole circle of the learning of their time. I have, however, " noticed such as have obtained reputation in any particular science or art. If " they have excelled in several, I have named that which they have more espe- " cially cultivated. With respect to such men as Thales, Pythagoras, &c. such a " distinction appeared to me useless; only to name them was sufficient."

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## THIRTEENTH, TWELFTH, AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

BEFORE CHRIST.

CHIRON of Theſſaly, Aſtronomer, Phyſician, and Muſician
Palamedes of Argos, Poet, Muſician, and Tactitian
Thamyris of Thrace, Muſician
Tireſias, Poet and Diviner
Manto, or Daphne, Divineresſ and Poeteſs
Corinnus, diſciple of Palamedes, Poet
Siſyphus of Cos, Poet
Dares of Phrygia, Hiſtorical Poet
Dictys of Cneſſus, Hiſtorical Poet
Antomedes of Mycenæ, Poet
Demodocus of Corcyra, his diſciple
Phemonoe, Divineresſ and Poeteſs
Podalirius, Phyſician
Machaon, Phyſician
Phemius of Ithaca, Muſician
Oxylus of Elis, Legiſlator
Dædalus, Sculptor, Painter, and Architect
Eudocus, his diſciple, Sculptor, Painter, and Architect
Nicomachus, ſon of Machaon, Phyſician
Gorgaſus, his brother, Phyſician
Orœbantius of Trœzen, Poet

## TENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

ARDALUS of Trœzen, Poet and Muſician
Thales of Cortyna, in Crete, Legiſlator, Lyric Poet, and Muſician
Xenodamus of Cythera, Poet and Muſician
Onomacritus of Crete, Legiſlator
Meleſander of Miletus, Poet
Pronapides of Athens, Poet and Grammarian
Heſiod of Aſcra, in Bœotia, Didactic Poet

## NINTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

HOMER of Chios, Epic Poet
Phidon of Argos, Legiſlator
Eumelus of Corinth, Hiſtorical Poet
Archinus of Miletus, Poet
Lycurgus of Sparta, Legiſlator
Cleophantus of Corinth, Painter in one colour
Charmedas, Dinias, Hygiemon, Eumarus of Athens } Painters
Polymneſtes, Poet and Muſician

## EIGHTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

IPHITUS of Elis, Legiſlator
Callinus, Elegiac Poet
Cimon of Cleonæ, Painter
Bularchus of Lydia, Painter in different colours
Zaleucus of Locris, Legiſlator
Aminocles of Corinth, Ship-builder
Cinœthon of Sparta, Poet
Philolaus of Corinth, Legiſlator of Thebes
Archilochus of Paros, Lyric and Satiric Poet
Ariſtocles of Cydonia, Painter
Xenocritus of Locris, Poet and Muſician
Charondus of Catana, Legiſlator
Piſander of Camirus, Poet
Periclitus of Leſbos, Muſician
Eupalinus of Megara, Architect

## SEVENTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST.

TYRTÆUS of Athens, Poet and Muſician
Alcman of Sardes, Poet and Muſician
Leſches of Leſbos, Epic Poet
Terpander of Leſbos, Poet and Muſician
Clonas of Tegea, Poet and Muſician
Dibutades of Corinth, Sculptor in Plaſtice
Cepion, Muſician
Steſichorus the Elder, of Himera, Poet and Muſician
Helianax, his brother, Legiſlator
Rhœcus of Samos, Founder and Architect
Arion of Methymna, Poet and Muſician
Theodorus of Samos, Founder, Architect, and Engraver
Draco of Athens, Legiſlator
Alcæus of Mytilene, Military and Satirical poet
Sappho of Mytilene, Erinna of Leſbos, Damophila, } Erotic Poeteſſes
Ibycus of Rhegium, Lyric Poet
Epimenides of Crete, Philoſopher, Diviner, Poet and Muſician.
Phocylides of Miletus, Gnomologic Poet
Euchyr of Corinth, Statuary

## SIXTH CENTURY

BEFORE CHRIST

CADMUS of Miletus, Hiſtorian in Proſe
Acuſilaus of Argos, Hiſtorian

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Thales of Miletus, Philoſopher and Legiſlator
Glaucus of Chios, Worker in Iron
Periander of Corinth, one of the ſeven ſages, Legiſlator
Bias of Priene, one of the ſeven ſages, Legiſlator
Chilo of Sparta, one of the ſeven ſages,
Cleobulus of Lindus, one of the ſeven ſages, Legiſlator
Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the ſeven ſages, Legiſlator
Myſon of Laconia, one of the ſeven ſages
Solon of Athens, one of the ſeven ſages, Legiſlator and Elegiac Poet
Dropides, his brother, Poet
Melas of Chios, Statuary
Cherſias of Orchomenus, Poet
Piſiſtratus, Tyrant of Athens, Editor of Homer
Æſop of Cotis, in Phrygia, Fabuliſt
Mimnermus of Smyrna, Elegiac Poet
Androdamas of Rhegium, Legiſlator of the Chalcidians, in Thrace
Sacadas of Argos, Elegiac Poet and Muſician
Micciades of Chios, Statuary
Polyzelus of Meſſene, Hiſtorian
Antiſtates, Architect
Onomacritus, of Athens, Poet, Writer of Hymns
Callæſchros, Antimachides, Porinus, } Architects
Dædalus of Sicyon,
Dipœnus of Crete, his pupil,
Scyllis of Crete, his other pupil,
Dontas of Sparta, } Statuaries
Perillus of Agrigentum, Founder
Archemus of Chios, Statuary
Laſus of Hermione, Dithyrambic Poet and Muſician
Suſarion of Icaria, in Attica, Buffoon
Dolon, his countryman, Buffoon
Simonides of Ceos, Poet and Grammarian
Theognis of Megara, Gnomologic Poet
Hipponax of Epheſus, Satiric Poet
Spintharus of Corinth, Architect
Anaximander of Miletus, Philoſopher
Xenophanes of Colophon, Philoſopher and Legiſlator
Anaximenes of Miletus, Philoſopher
Matricetas of Methymna, Aſtronomer
Theſpis of Athens, Tragic Poet
Cleoſtratus of Tenedos, Aſtronomer
Bupalus of Chios, Athenis, his countryman, Clearchus of Rhegium, } Statuaries

Theocles, Doryclidas, Medon of Sparta, Tectæus, Angelion, Menæchmus of Naupactus, Soidas, his countryman, Canon of Ægina, Dameas of Crotona, } Statuaries
Melanippides of Melos, Dithyrambic Poet
Democedes of Crotona, Phyſician
Eugamon of Cyrene, Epic Poet
Memnon, Architect
Phrynichus of Athens, Tragic Poet
Bacchylides, Lyric and Dithyrambic Poet
Anacreon of Teos, Lyric and Erotic Poet
Chœrilus of Athens, Tragic Poet
Pherecydes of Scyros, Philoſopher
Damophon of Meſſene, Pythodorus of Thebes, Laphaes of Meſſene, } Statuaries
Mneſiphilus of Phrear, in Attica, Orator
Pythagoras of Samos, Philoſopher and Legiſlator
Antiochus of Syracuſe, Hiſtorian
Heraclitus of Epheſus, Philoſopher
Parmenides of Elea, Philoſopher
Ariſtæus of Crotona, Philoſopher and Mathematician
Theano of Crete, Lyric Poeteſs and Philoſophreſs
Arignota of Samos, female Philoſopher
Damo, daughter of Pythagoras, Philoſophreſs
Cinœthus of Syracuſe, Editor of Homer
Cleobulina of Lindus, Poeteſs
Hellanicus of Leſbos, Damaſtes of Sigeum, Xenomedes of Chios, Xanthus of Lydia, } Hiſtorians
Hippodicus of Chalcis, Poet and Muſician
Meliſſus of Samos, Philoſopher

## FIFTH CENTURY
### BEFORE CHRIST.

Æschylus of Athens, Tragic Poet
Agatharcus, Scenic Architect
Pratinus of Phlius, Tragic Poet
Ocellus of Lucania, Philoſopher
Alcmæon of Crotona, Philoſopher and Phyſician
Hecatæus of Miletus, Theagenes of Rhegium, Ariſteas of Proconneſus, } Hiſtorians
Hippaſus of Metapontum, Philoſopher
Corinna of Tanagra Lyric Poeteſs



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Onatas of Ægina,
Calliteles, his pupil,
Glaucias of Ægina,
Hegias of Athens,
Agelades of Argos,
} Statuaries

Timagoras of Chalcis, Painter
Pancenus of Athens, Painter
Panyasis of Halicarnassus, Epic Poet
Pindar of Thebes, Lyric Poet
Myrtis of Anthedon, Poetess
Eugeon of Samos,
Deiochus of Proconnesus,
Eudemus of Paros,
Democles of Phigalea,
Meleságoras of Chalcedon,
} Historians

Chionides of Athens, Comic Poet
Harpalus Astronomer
Œnipodes of Chios, Philosopher, Astronomer, and Mathematician
Phæax of Agrigentum, Architect
Dionysius of Miletus, Historian
Pherecydes of Leros, Historian
Stomius,
Somis,
Anaxagoras of Ægina,
Simon, his countryman,
} Statuaries

Archias of Corinth, Architect
Sophron of Syracuse, Comic Poet
Leucippus of Abdera, Philosopher, Astronomer, and Naturalist
Diogenes of Apollonia, Philosopher, Orator, and Naturalist
Scylax of Caryanda, Navigator, and Geographer
Mandrocles of Samos, Architect
Zeno of Elea, Philosopher
Democritus of Abdera, Philosopher
Lamprus of Erythræa, Poet and Musician
Xanthus, Lyric Poet
Bion of Abdera, Mathematician
Dionysius of Rhegium, Statuary
Glaucus of Messene, Statuary
Sophocles of Athens, Tragic Poet
Corax of Syracuse, Rhetorician
Tisias of Sicily, his disciple
Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Historian
Protagoras of Abdera, Philosopher and Rhetorician
Metrodorus of Chios, Philosopher and Historian
Xenarchus of Syracuse, Comic Poet
Hippias of Elea, Philosopher
Aristomedes of Thebes, Statuary
Socrates, his countryman, Statuary
Hippodamus of Miletus, Architect and Politician
Empedocles of Agrigentum, Philosopher
Telesilla of Argos, Poetess
Acron of Agrigentum, Physician

Praxilla of Sicyon, Dithyrambic Poetess
Euriphon of Cnidus, Physician
Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Historian
Eladas of Argos, Statuary
Herodicus of Selybria, Physician
Prodicus of Coe,
Gorgias of Leontium,
Polus of Agrigentum,
Alcidamus of Elea,
Theodorus of Byzantium,
} Rhetoricians or Sophists.

Hippocrates of Coe,
Thessalus, his son,
Polybius, his son-in-law,
Dexippus of Coe, his disciple,
Apollonius, his other disciple,
} Observing Physicians

Euripides of Athens, Tragic Poet
Agathon of Athens, Tragic Poet
Magnes,
Crates,
Eupolis,
Cratinus,
} Comic Poets

Stesichorus the younger, of Himera, Elegiac Poet
Ameristes, his brother, Mathematician
Phryxis of Mytilene, Musician
Pericles of Athens, Orator
Aspasia of Miletus, Poetess and Sophist
Phidias of Athens, Statuary
Myus, Engraver
Coresbus,
Menesicles,
Xenocles of Athens
Metagenes of Xypeta,
Callicrates,
Ictinus,
Carpion,
} Architects

Artemon of Clazomenæ, Mechanic
Myrmecides, Sculptor in Ivory
Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, Philosopher
Alcamenes of Athens, Statuary, of the school of Phidias
Agoracritus of Paros, Statuary, of the school of Phidias
Critias-Nesiotes, or the Islander, Statuary
Damon of Athens, Musician
Acragas, Engraver
Archelaus of Miletus, Philosopher
Ion of Chios, Tragic Poet and Historian
Cratylus, disciple of Heraclitus, Philosopher
Hermogens, disciple of Parmenides, Philosopher
Antiphon of Athens,
Thrasymachus of Chalcedon,
Polycrates of Athens,
} Rhetoricians

Aristophanes of Athens, Poet of the Ancient Comedy

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Prynicus, Stratis, Pherecrates, Plato, Teleclides, Theopompus, } Comic Poets
Andocides of Athens, Orator
Thucydides of Alimus, in Attica, Hiſtorian
Phænus of Athens, Aſtronomer
Lyſias of Athens, Orator
Meton of Athens, Aſtronomer
Euctemon of Athens, Aſtronomer
Theodorus of Cyrene, Mathematician
Hippocrates of Chios, Mathematician
Antimachus of Colophon, Epic Poet
Theophilus of Epidaurus, Comic Poet
Hegemon of Thaſos, Tragic Poet and Parodiſt
Chœrilus of Samos, Poet and Hiſtorian
Polycletus of Argos, Statuary and Architect
Phradmon of Argos, Gorgias, Callon of Elis, Myron of Eleutheræ, Perellius, Pythagoras of Rhegium, } Statuaries
Timocreon of Rhodes, Comic and Satiric Poet
Theophraſtus of Pieria, Muſician
Nicodorus of Mantinea, Legiſlator
Diagoras of Melos, Philoſopher
Evenus of Paros, Elegiac Poet
Simonides of Melos, Poet and Grammarian
Diocles of Syracuſe, Legiſlator
Epicharmus of Cos, Comic Poet
Cratippus, Hiſtorian
Polygnotus of Thaſos, Painter
Clitodemus, Hiſtorian
Socrates of Athens, Philoſopher
Alexis of Sicyon, Aſopodorus of Argos, Ariſtides, Phrynon, Dinon, Athenodorus of Clitor, } Statuaries of the ſchool of Polycletus
Damias of Clitor,
Micon of Athens, Demophilus of Himera, Neſeas of Thaſos, Gorgaſus of Sicily, } Painters
Lycius, ſon of Myron, Statuary
Antiphanes of Argos, Statuary
Aglaophon of Thaſos, Cephiſodorus, Phryllus, Evenor of Epheſus, } Painters
Pauſon, his countryman, Dionyſius of Colophon, } Painters
Cantharus of Sicyon, Statuary
Cleon, his countryman, Statuary
Nicanor of Paros, Arceſilaus, his countryman, Lyſippus of Ægina, Bryetes of Sicyon, } Encauſtic Painters
Chœriphon of Sphettus, Tragic Poet
Theramenes of Athens, Orator
Carcinus of Athens, Tragic Poet
Theætetus, Aſtronomer and Mathematician
Teleſtas of Selinus, Dithyrambic Poet.

## FOURTH CENTURY
### BEFORE CHRIST.

Philolaus of Crotona, Philoſopher and Aſtronomer
Eurytus of Metapontum, Philoſopher
Clinias of Tarentum, Philoſopher
Hiſtiæus of Colophon, Muſician
Naucydes of Argos, Dinomenes, Patroclus of Crotona, Telephanes of Phocæa, Canachus of Sicyon, } Statuaries
Ariſtocles, his brother,
Apollodorus of Athens, Painter
Critias of Athens, Poet and Orator
Cherſiphron of Cnoſſus, Architect
Metagenes, his ſon, Architect
Timæus of Locris, Philoſopher
Xeuxis of Heraclea, Parrhaſius of Epheſus, Timanthes of Cythnos, Androcydes of Cyzicus, Euxenidos of Sicyon, } Painters
Eupompus, his countryman,
Diogenes of Athens, Tragic Poet
Nicoſtratus, ſon of Ariſtophanes, Actor and Comic Poet
Callipides, Meniſcus, Theodorus, Polus, } Tragic Actors
Sotades of Athens, Poet of the Middle Comedy
Æſchines of Athens, Antiſthenes of Athens, Ariſtippus of Cyrene, Cebes of Athens, Crito of Athens, Euclid of Megara, Menedemus of Eretria, Phædon of Elis, Simmias of Thebes, } Philoſophers of the ſchool of Socrates
Ariſtophon, Painter

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Timotheus of Miletus, Dithyrambic Poet and Muſician
Ecphantus of Crotona, Philoſopher
Hippo of Rhegium, Philoſopher
Leodamas of Thaſos, Mathematician
Archytas of Tarentum, Philoſopher, Mechanic and Muſician
Neoclitus, Mathematician
Echecrates of Locris, Philoſopher
Diogenes of Sicyon, Hiſtorian
Philiſtus of Syracuſe, Orator and Hiſtorian
Philoxenus of Cytherea, Lyric, Dithyrambic, and Tragic Poet
Polycides, Zoographer and Muſician
Xenagoras of Syracuſe, Ship-builder
Antigenidas of Thebes, Muſician
Anaxandrides of Camirus, Tragic and Comic Poet
Arete, daughter of Ariſtippus, Philoſophreſs
Eubulus of Athens, Comic Poet
Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares, } Statuaries
Cteſius of Gnidus, Phyſician and Hiſtorian
Phyteus, Architect
Satyrus, Architect
Tinichus of Chalcis, Hymnographic Poet
Anaximander of Miletus, Hiſtorian
Pauſias of Sicyon, Painter
Theodorus the Atheiſt, Philoſopher
Archippus of Tarentum, Philoſopher
Pamphilus of Macedonia, Painter
Dionyſius of Thebes, Poet and Muſician
Lyſis, Philoſopher and Poet
Euphranor of Corinth, Painter and Statuary
Xenophon of Athens, Philoſopher and Hiſtorian
Cydias of Cythnos, Nicomachus, Calades, } Painters
Hegeſias Piſithanatus, Philoſopher
Philiſtion of Locris, Phyſician
Leon, Mathematician
Echion, Painter and Statuary
Therimachus, Painter and Statuary
Anniceris, Philoſopher
Plato of Athens, Philoſopher
Eudoxus of Gnidus, Philoſopher, Aſtronomer and Mathematician
Dion of Syracuſe, Philoſopher
Iſocrates of Athens, Rhetorician and Philoſopher
Philip of Medma, Aſtronomer and Geometrician

Amiclas of Heraclea, Menœxmus, Dinoſtratus, his brother, Theudius of Magneſia, Athenæus of Cyzicus, Hermotimus of Colophon, } Mathematicians
Ariſtolaus, Mechopanes, Antidotus, Callices, } Painters, pupils of Pauſias
Helicon of Cyzicus, Aſtronomer
Polycles of Athens, Cephiſidotus, his countryman, Hippatodorus, Ariſtogiton, } Statuaries of the ſchool of Athens
Hermias of Methymna, Eubulides of Miletus, Athanis of Syracuſe, } Hiſtorians
Timoleon of Corinth, Legiſlator
Cephalus of Corinth, Juriſconſult
Theodectes of Phaſelis, Rhetorician and Tragic Poet, Theopompus of Chios, Hiſtorian, Naucrates, Rhetorician, Ephorus of Cuma, Hiſtorian, Cephiſodorus, Rhetorician, Aſclepias of Trogilus, in Sicily, Tragic Poet, Aſtydamas of Athens, Tragic Poet, Lacritus of Athens, Orator, Androtion, Orator and Writer on Huſbandry, } All of the ſchool of Iſocrates
Zoilus of Amphipolis, Rhetorician, Critic and Grammarian
Polidus of Theſſaly, Mechanic
Euphantus of Olynthus, Dionyſiodorus of Bœotia, Anaxis, his countryman, } Hiſtorians
Phaleas of Chalcedon, Politician
Chares of Paros, Apollodorus of Lemnos, } Writers on Huſbandry
Praxiteles of Athens, Statuary,
Lycurgus of Athens, Orator
Iſæus of Chalcis, Orator
Speuſippus of Athens, Philip of Opus, Aſtronomer, Heſtiæus of Perinthus, Eraſtus of Scepſis, Coriſcus, his countryman, Timolaus of Cyzicus, Eubæon of Lampſacus, Pithon of Oeneon, Heraclides, his countryman, Hippotalus of Athens, Calippus of Athens, } Philoſophers of the ſchool of Plato.
Laſthenia of Mantinea, Female Philoſopher



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Axiothea of Phlius, Female Philosopher
Callistratus of Athens, Orator
Menecrates of Syracuse, Physician
Critobulus, Physician and Surgeon
Nicomachus, Asclepiodorus, Theomnestus, Melanthius, } Last Painters of the school of Sicyon
Telephanes of Megara, Musician
Syennesis of Cyprus, Physiological Physician
Demosthenes of Athens, Hyperides of Colyttus, in Attica, Æschines of Athens, Dinarchus of Corinth, } Orators
Autolycus of Pitane, Astronomer
Praxagoras of Cos, Physician
Xenophilus of Chalcis, in Thrace, Echecrates of Phlius, Phanton, his countryman, Diocles of Phlius, Polymnestes, his countryman, } Last Philosophers of the school of Pythagoras
Pytheas of Athens, Orator
Dinon, Historian
Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Philosopher
Æneas, Tactician
Aristotle of Stagira, Philosopher
Anaximenes of Lampsacus, Rhetorician and Historian
Diogenes of Sinope, Philosopher
Herophilus of Chalcedon, Physician-anatomist
Neophron of Sicyon, Tragic Poet
Timotheus of Thebes, Musician
Apelles of Cos, Aristides of Thebes, Protogenes of Caunus, Antiphilus of Naucratis, Nicias of Athens, Nicophanes, Alcimachus, } Painters
Philinus of Cos, Empirical Physician
Demophilus, son of Ephorus, Historian
Calippus of Cyzicus, Astronomer
Phocion of Athens, Philos. and Orator
Monimus of Syracuse, Philosopher
Marsyas of Pella, Historian
Callisthenes of Olynthus, Philosopher and Historian
Aristoxenus of Tarentum, Philosopher, Historian and Musician
Onesicritus of Ægina, Philosopher and Historian
Alexis of Thurium, Comic Poet
Phanias of Eresus, Hyriades, Antiphanes of Delos, Epigenes, } Natural Philosophers
Crates of Thebes, Philosopher
Hipparchia, female Philosopher
Metrocles, Philosopher
Diognetus, Bœton, Nicobulus, } Geographic Surveyors
Chœreas of Athens, Mechanic and Writer on Husbandry
Diadus, Mechanic
Ergoteles, Engraver
Thrasias of Mantinea
Antiphanes of Rhodes, Comic Poet
Dinocrates, Architect
Zeno of Citium, Philosopher
Chrysippus of Gnidus, Physician
Lysippus of Sicyon, Lysistratus of Sicyon, Sthenis of Olynthus, Euphronides, Sostratus of Chios, Ion, Silanion of Athens, } Statuaries
Eudemus of Rhodes, Astronomer, Historian, Geometrician, and Natural Philosopher
Crantor of Soli, Philosopher
Nearchus of Crete, Geographer and Navigator
Iphippus of Olynthus, Historian
Alexias, Physician
Androsthenes of Thasos, Geographer and Traveller
Clitarchus, son of Dinon, Historian
Callias of Athens, Metallurgist
Theophrastus of Eresos, Philosopher
Timæus of Taurominium, Historian
Menander of Athens, Philemon of Soli, Apollodorus of Gela. } Poets of the New Comedy
Menedemus of Eretria, Philosopher
Tisistrates of Sicyon, Zeuxis, his disciple, Jades, } Statuaries, pupils of Lysippus
Aristobulus, Historian
Heraclides of Pontus, Philosopher, Historian, and Politician
Diyllus of Athens, Historian
Pamphilus of Amphipolis, Grammarian and Writer on Husbandry
Hecatæus of Abdera, Historian
Demochares of Athens, Orator and Historian
Stilpo of Megara, Philosopher
Pytheas of Marseilles, Astronomer
Epicurus of Athens, Philosopher
Metrodorus of Lampsacus, his disciple
Leontium, Courtesan and Philosopheress
Ptolemy son of Lagus, Historian
Callias of Syracuse, Historian
Hermesianax of Colophon, Elegiac Poet

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Megaſthenes, Traveller and Geographer
Eumenes of Cardia, Hiſtorian
Demetrius of Phalerum, Philoſopher and Orator
Patroclus, Navigator and Geographer
Leon of Byzantium, Hiſtorian
Dicæarchus of Meſſena, Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, and Geographer
Simmias of Rhodes, Enigmatic Poet and Grammarian
Rhinthon of Syracuſe, Tragic Poet
Daimachus, Traveller and Tactician
Epimachus of Athens, Architect and Mechanic
Philo, Architect
Diphilus of Sinope, Comic Poet
Apollonides, Engraver
Cronius, Engraver
Euhemerus of Meſſena, Philoſopher and Mythologiſt
Diognetus of Rhodes, Architect and Mechanic
Chares of Lindus, Founder
Callias of Arades, Architect and Mechanic
Philetas of Cos, Critic and Grammarian
Polemon of Athens, Philoſopher
Strato of Lampſacus, Philoſopher
Arceſilaus of Æolia, Philoſopher
Euthychides, Euthycrates, Lahippus, Timarchus, Cephiſidotus, Pyromachus, } Statuaries of the ſchool of Lyſippus
Eraſiſtratus of Cos, Dogmatic Phyſician
Timocharis, Aſtronomer
Zenodotus, Poet, Grammarian, and Editor of Homer
Euclid, Mathematician.

N. B. Four years have been added to this century, which ends at the archonſhip of Hegemachus excluſively, that the names of ſeveral men of literature and artiſts might not be omitted.

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# TABLE III.

## Containing the Names of Illuſtrious Men, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

IN the preceding Table, the names of authors or artiſts are given in chronological order; in the following they are arranged alphabetically, with figures denoting the centuries before the Chriſtian æra in which they flouriſhed.

The uſe of theſe two tables is ſufficiently obvious. When we ſee, for example, by the ſide of the name of Solon the figure 6, we may refer to the preceding Table, and paſſing the eye over the liſt of illuſtriuus men who lived in the ſixth century before Chriſt, we ſhall find Solon one of the firſt in that liſt, and conſequently conclude that he muſt have flouriſhed towards the year 590 before Chriſt.

The aſteriſk which is placed by the ſide of a few names, ſignifies the thirteenth, twelfth, and eleventh centuries, before Chriſt.

| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| A | |
| Acragas, Engraver | 5 |
| Acron, Phyſician | 5 |
| Acuſilaus, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Æneas, Tactician | 4 |
| Æſchines, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Æſchylus, Poet | 5 |
| Æſop, Fabuliſt | 6 |
| Agatharchus, Architect | 5 |
| Agatho, Poet | 5 |
| Agelades, Statuary | 5 |
| Aglaophon, Painter | 5 |
| Agoracritus, Statuary | 5 |
| Alcamenes, Statuary | 5 |
| Alcæus, Poet | 7 |
| Alcidamas, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Alcimachus, Painter | 4 |
| Alcmæon, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Alcman, Poet | 7 |
| Alexias, Phyſician | 4 |
| Alexis, Poet | 4 |
| Alexis, Statuary | 5 |
| Ameriſtus, Mathematician | 5 |
| Aminocles, Ship-builder | 8 |
| Amyclas, Mathematician | 4 |
| Anacreon, Poet | 6 |
| Anaxagoras, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Anaxagoras, Statuary | 5 |
| Anaxandrides, Poet | 4 |
| Anaximander, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Anaximander, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Anaximenes, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Anaximenes, Rhetorician | 4 |
| Anaxis, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Andocides, Orator | 5 |
| Androcydes, Painter | 4 |
| Androdamas, Legiſlator | 6 |
| Androſthenes, Traveller | 4 |
| Androtion, Orator | 4 |
| Angelion, Statuary | 6 |
| Anniceris, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Antidotus, Painter | 4 |
| Antigenides, Muſician | 4 |
| Antimachides, Architect | 6 |
| Antimachus, Poet | 5 |
| Antiochus, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Antiphanes, Natural Philoſopher | 4 |
| Antiphanes, Poet | 4 |
| Antiphanes, Statuary | 5 |
| Antiphilus, Painter | 4 |
| Antiphon, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Antiſtates, Architect | 6 |
| Antiſthenes, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Apelles, Painter | 4 |
| Apollodorus, Writer on Huſbandry | 4 |
| Apollodorus, Painter | 4 |

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| Names and Professions. | Cent. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Apollodorus, Poet | 4 |
| Apollonides, Engraver | 4 |
| Apollonius, Physician | 5 |
| Arcesilaus, Painter | 5 |
| Arcesilaus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Archelaus, Philosopher | 5 |
| Archemus, Statuary | 6 |
| Archias, Architect | 5 |
| Archilochus, Poet | 8 |
| Archippus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Archytas, Philosopher | 4 |
| Arctinus, Poet | 9 |
| Ardalus, Poet | 10 |
| Arete, Female Philosopher | 4 |
| Arignotta, Female Philosopher | 6 |
| Arion, Poet | 7 |
| Aristæus, Philosopher | 6 |
| Aristeas, Historian | 5 |
| Aristides, Painter | 4 |
| Aristides, Statuary | 5 |
| Aristippus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Aristobulus, Historian | 4 |
| Aristocles, Painter | 8 |
| Aristocles, Statuary | 4 |
| Aristogiton, Statuary | 4 |
| Aristolaus, Painter | 4 |
| Aristomedes, Statuary | 5 |
| Aristophanes, Poet | 5 |
| Aristophon, Painter | 4 |
| Aristotle, Philosopher | 4 |
| Aristoxenus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Artemon, Mechanic | 5 |
| Asclepias, Poet | 4 |
| Asclepiodorus, Painter | 4 |
| Asopodorus, Statuary | 5 |
| Aspasia, Poetess | 5 |
| Astydamas, Poet | 4 |
| Athanis, Historian | 4 |
| Athenæus, Mathematician | 4 |
| Athenis Statuary | 6 |
| Athenodorus, Statuary | 5 |
| Autolicus, Astronomer | 4 |
| Automedes Poet | * |
| Axiothea, Female Philosopher | 4 |
| **B** | |
| Bacchylides, Poet | 6 |
| Bias, one of the seven sages, Poet | 6 |
| Bion, Mathematician | 5 |
| Bœton, Surveyor | 4 |
| Brietes, Painter | 5 |
| Bryaxis, Statuary | 4 |
| Bularchus, Painter | 8 |
| Bupalus, Statuary | 6 |
| **C** | |
| Cadmus, Historian | 6 |
| Calades, Painter | 4 |
| Callias, Architect | 4 |
| Callias, Historian | 4 |
| Callias, Metallurgist | 4 |

| Names and Professions. | Cent. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Callices, Painter | 4 |
| Callicrates, Architect | 5 |
| Callinus, Poet | 8 |
| Callipides, Actor | 4 |
| Callippus, Astronomer | 4 |
| Callippus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Callisthenes, Philosopher | 4 |
| Callistratus, Orator | 4 |
| Callitelcs, Statuary | 5 |
| Callon, Statuary | 6 |
| Callon, Statuary | 5 |
| Callæschros, Architect | 6 |
| Canachus, Statuary | 4 |
| Cantharus, Statuary | 5 |
| Carcinus, Poet | 5 |
| Carpion, Architect | 5 |
| Cebes, Philosopher | 4 |
| Cephalus, Jurisconsult | 4 |
| Cephisodorus, Painter | 5 |
| Cephisodorus, Rhetorician | 4 |
| Cephisodotus, Statuary | 4 |
| Cepion, Musician | 7 |
| Chionides, Poet | 5 |
| Chares, Writer on Husbandry | 4 |
| Chares, Founder | 4 |
| Charmadas, Painter | 9 |
| Charondas, Legislator | 8 |
| Chersias, Poet | 6 |
| Chersiphron, Architect | 4 |
| Chilo, one of the seven sages | 6 |
| Chionides, Poet | 5 |
| Chiron, Astronomer | * |
| Chœreas, Mechanic | 4 |
| Chœrilus, Poet | 6 |
| Chœrilus, Poet | 5 |
| Chœriphon, Poet | 5 |
| Chrysippus, Physician, | 4 |
| Cimon, Painter | 8 |
| Cinœthus, Editor of Homer | 6 |
| Cinœthon, Poet | 8 |
| Clearchus, Statuary | 6 |
| Cleobulus, one of the seven sages, Legislator | 6 |
| Cleobulina, Poetess | 6 |
| Cleon, Statuary | 5 |
| Cleophantus, Painter | 9 |
| Cleostratus, Astronomer | 6 |
| Clinias, Philosopher | 4 |
| Clitarchus, Historian | 4 |
| Clitodemus, Historian | 5 |
| Clonas, Poet | 7 |
| Corax, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Corinna, Poetess | 5 |
| Corinnus, Poet | * |
| Corœbus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Corœbus, Architect | 5 |
| Crantor, Philosopher | 4 |
| Crates, Philosopher | 4 |
| Crates, Poet | 5 |



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| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Cratinus, Poet | 5 |
| Cratippus, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Cratylus, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Critias Neſiotes, Statuary | 5 |
| Critias, Poet | 4 |
| Critobulus, Phyſician | 4 |
| Crito, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Cronius, Engraver | 4 |
| Cteſias, Phyſician | 4 |
| Cydias, Painter | 4 |
| **D** | |
| Daimachus, Traveller | 4 |
| Damaſtes, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Dameas, Statuary | 6 |
| Damias, Statuary | 5 |
| Damo, Female Philoſopher | 6 |
| Damon, Muſician | 5 |
| Damophila, Poeteſs | 7 |
| Damophon, Statuary | 6 |
| Daphne or Manto, Divinereſs | * |
| Dares, Poet | * |
| Dædalus, Sculptor | * |
| Dædalus, Statuary | 6 |
| Deiochus, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Demetrius, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Democedes, Phyſician | 6 |
| Demochares, Orator | 4 |
| Democles, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Democritus, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Demodocus, Poet | * |
| Demophilus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Demophilus, Painter | 5 |
| Demoſthenes, Orator | 4 |
| Dionyſius, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Dionyſius, Painter | 5 |
| Dionyſius, Poet | 4 |
| Dionyſius, Statuary | 5 |
| Dexippus, Phyſician | 5 |
| Diadus, Mechanic | 4 |
| Diagoras, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Dibutades, Sculptor | 7 |
| Dicæarchus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Dictys, Poet | * |
| Dinarchus, Orator | 4 |
| Dinias, Painter | 9 |
| Dinocrates, Architect | 4 |
| Dinomenes, Statuary | 4 |
| Dinon, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Dinon, Statuary, | 5 |
| Dinoſtratus, Mathematician | 4 |
| Diocles, Legiſlator | 5 |
| Diocles, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Diogenes, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Diogenes, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Diogenes, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Diogenes, Poet | 4 |
| Diognetus, Architect | 4 |
| Diognetus, Surveyor | 4 |
| Dion, Philoſopher | 4 |

| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Dionyſiodorus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Diphilus, Poet | 4 |
| Dipœnus, Statuary | 6 |
| Diyllus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Dolon, Buffoon | 6 |
| Dontas, Statuary | 6 |
| Doryclidas, Statuary | 6 |
| Draco, Legiſlator | 7 |
| Dropides, Poet | 6 |
| **E** | |
| Echecrates, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Echion, Painter | 4 |
| Ecphantus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Eladas, Statuary | 5 |
| Empedocles, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Ephorus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Epicharmus, Poet | 5 |
| Epicurus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Epidemus, Aſtronomer | 4 |
| Epigenes, Natural Philoſopher | 4 |
| Epimachus, Architect | 4 |
| Epimenides, Philoſopher | 7 |
| Eraſiſtratus, Phyſician | 4 |
| Eraſtus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Ergoteles, Engraver | 4 |
| Erinna, Poeteſs | 7 |
| Evenor, Painter | 5 |
| Evenus, Poet | 5 |
| Euhemerus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Eubulus, Poet | 4 |
| Eubulides, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Euchir, Statuary | 7 |
| Euclid, Mathematician | 4 |
| Euclid, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Eudemon, Aſtronomer | 5 |
| Eudemus, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Eudochus, Sculptor | * |
| Eudoxus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Eugamon, Poet | 4 |
| Eugeon, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Eumarus, Painter | 9 |
| Eumelus, Poet | 9 |
| Eumenes, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Euœon, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Eupalinus, Architect | 8 |
| Euphantus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Euphranor, Painter | 4 |
| Euphronides, Statuary | 4 |
| Eupolis, Poet | 5 |
| Eupompus, Painter, | 4 |
| Euriphon, Phyſician | 5 |
| Euripides, Poet | 5 |
| Eurytus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Euthycrates, Statuary | 4 |
| Euthychides, Statuary | 4 |
| Euxenidas, Painter | 4 |
| **G** | |
| Glaucias, Statuary | 5 |
| Glaucus, Worker in Iron | 6 |



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| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Glaucus, Statuary | 5 |
| Gorgaſus, Phyſician | |
| Gorgaſus, Painter | 5 |
| Gorgias, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Gorgias, Statuary | 5 |
| **H** | |
| Harpalus, Aſtronomer | 5 |
| Hecataeus, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Hecataeus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Hegemon, Poet | 5 |
| Hegeſias Piſathanatus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Hegeſias, Statuary | 5 |
| Helianax, Legiſlator | 7 |
| Helicon, Aſtronomer | 4 |
| Hellanicus, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Heraclides, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Heraclitus, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Hermeſianax, Poet | 4 |
| Hermias, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Hermogenes, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Hemotimus, Mathematician | 4 |
| Herodicus, Phyſician | 5 |
| Herodotus, Hiſtorian, | 5 |
| Herophilus, Phyſician | 4 |
| Heſiod, Poet | 10 |
| Heſtiaeus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Hippo, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Hipparchia, Female Philoſopher | 4 |
| Hippaſus, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Hippias, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Hippocrates, Mathematician | 5 |
| Hippocrates, Phyſician | 5 |
| Hippodamus, Architect | 5 |
| Hippodicus, Poet | 6 |
| Hipponax, Poet | 6 |
| Hippotalus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Hiſtiaeus, Muſician | 4 |
| Homer, Poet | 9 |
| Hygiaemon, Painter | 9 |
| Hypatadorus, Statuary | 4 |
| Hyperides, Orator | 4 |
| Hyriades, Phyſician | 4 |
| **I** | |
| Iades, Statuary | 4 |
| Ibycus, Poet | 7 |
| Ictinus, Architect | 5 |
| Ion, Poet | 5 |
| Ion, Statuary | 4 |
| Iphippus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Iphitus, Legiſlator | 8 |
| Iſaeus, Orator | 4 |
| Iſocrates, Rhetorician | 4 |
| **L** | |
| Lacritus, Orator | 4 |
| Lahippus, Statuary | 4 |
| Lamprus, Poet | 5 |
| Laphaes, Statuary | 6 |
| Laſthenia, Female Philoſopher | 4 |
| Laſus, Poet | 6 |

| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Leochares, Statuary | 4 |
| Leodamas, Mathematician | 4 |
| Leon, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Leon, Mathematician | 4 |
| Leontium, Courteſan and Philoſophreſs | 4 |
| Leſches, Poet | 7 |
| Leucippus, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Lycius, Statuary | 5 |
| Lycurgus, Legiſlator | 9 |
| Lycurgus, Orator | 4 |
| Lyſias, Orator | 5 |
| Lyſippus, Painter | 5 |
| Lyſippus, Statuary | 4 |
| Lyſis, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Lyſiſtratus, Statuary | 4 |
| **M** | |
| Machaon, Phyſician | |
| Mognes, Poet | 5 |
| Mandrocles, Architect | 5 |
| Manto or Daphne, Divineress | |
| Marſyas, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Matricetas, Aſtronomer | 6 |
| Mecophanes, Painter | 4 |
| Medon, Statuary | 6 |
| Megaſthenes, Traveller | 4 |
| Melanippides, Poet | 6 |
| Melanthius, Painter | 4 |
| Melas, Statuary | 6 |
| Melaſagoras, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Meliſander, Poet | 10 |
| Meliſſus, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Memnon, Architect | 6 |
| Menoechmus, Statuary | 6 |
| Menoechmus, Mathematician | 4 |
| Menander, Poet | 4 |
| Menecrates, Phyſician | 4 |
| Menedemus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Meneſicles, Architect | 5 |
| Meniſcus, Actor | 4 |
| Metagenes, Architect | 5 |
| Metagenes, Architect | 4 |
| Meton, Aſtronomer | 5 |
| Metrocles, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Metrodorus, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Metrodorus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Micclades, Statuary | 6 |
| Micon, Painter | 5 |
| Mimnermus, Poet | 6 |
| Mneſiphilus, Orator | 6 |
| Monimus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Myrmecides, Sculptor | 5 |
| Myron, Statuary | 5 |
| Myrtis, Poet | 5 |
| Myſon, one of the ſeven ſages | 6 |
| Myus, Engraver | 5 |
| **N** | |
| Naucrates, Rhetorician | 4 |
| Naucydes, Statuary | 4 |
| Nearchus, Navigator | 4 |



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| Names and Professions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Neoclitus, Mathematician | 4 |
| Neophron, Poet | 4 |
| Nesæas, Painter | 5 |
| Nicanor, Painter | 5 |
| Nicias, Painter | 4 |
| Nicobulus, Surveyor | 4 |
| Nicodorus, Legislator | 5 |
| Nicomachus, Physician | * |
| Nicomachus, Painter | 4 |
| Nicophanes, Painter | 4 |
| Nicostratus, Actor | 4 |
| **O** | |
| Ocellus, Philosopher | 5 |
| Oenopides, Philosopher | 5 |
| Onatas, Statuary | 5 |
| Oneficritus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Onomacritus, Legislator | 10 |
| Onomacritus, Poet | 6 |
| Orœbantius, Poet | * |
| Oxylus, Legislator | * |
| **P** | |
| Palamedes, Poet | * |
| Pamphilus, Grammarian | 4 |
| Pamphilus, Painter | 4 |
| Panænus, Painter | 5 |
| Panyasis, Poet | 5 |
| Parmenides, Philosopher | 6 |
| Parrhasius, Painter | 4 |
| Patrocles, Navigator | 4 |
| Patroclus, Statuary | 4 |
| Pausias, Painter | 4 |
| Pauson, Painter | 5 |
| Perellius, Statuary | 5 |
| Periander, Legislator | 6 |
| Pericles, Orator | 5 |
| Periclitus, Musician | 8 |
| Perillus, Founder | 6 |
| Phædon, Philosopher | 4 |
| Phænus, Astronomer | 5 |
| Phaleas, Politician | 4 |
| Phanias, Natural Philosopher | 4 |
| Phanton, Philosopher | 4 |
| Phæax, Architect | 5 |
| Phemius, Musician | * |
| Phemonoe, Divineress | * |
| Pherecrates, Poet | 5 |
| Pherecydes, Philosopher | 6 |
| Pherecydes, Historian | 5 |
| Phidias, Statuary | 5 |
| Phidon, Legislator | 9 |
| Philemon, Poet | 4 |
| Philetas, Critic | 4 |
| Philinus, Physician | 4 |
| Philip, Astronomer | 4 |
| Philistus, Orator | 4 |
| Philistion, Physician | 4 |
| Philolaus, Legislator | 8 |
| Philolaus, Philosopher | 4 |
| Philon, Architect | 4 |

| Names and Professions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Philoxenus, Poet | 4 |
| Phocion, Philosopher | 4 |
| Phocylides, Poet | 7 |
| Phradmon, Statuary | 5 |
| Phryllus, Painter | 5 |
| Phrynichus, Poet | 6 |
| Phrynicus, Poet | 5 |
| Phrynon, Statuary | 5 |
| Phryxis, Musician | 5 |
| Phyteus, Architect | 4 |
| Pindar, Poet | 5 |
| Pisander, Poet | 8 |
| Pisistratus, Editor of Homer | 6 |
| Pithon, Philosopher | 4 |
| Pittacus, one of the seven sages | 6 |
| Plato, Philosopher | 4 |
| Plato, Poet | 5 |
| Podalirius, Physician | * |
| Polemon, Philosopher | 4 |
| Polus, Actor | 4 |
| Polus, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Polybius, Physician | 5 |
| Polycides, Zographer | 4 |
| Polycles, Statuary | 4 |
| Polycletus, Statuary | 5 |
| Polycrates, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Polygnotus, Painter | 5 |
| Polyidus, Mechanic | 4 |
| Polymnestes, Philosopher | 4 |
| Polymnestes Poet | 9 |
| Polyzelus, Historian | 6 |
| Porinus, Architect | 6 |
| Pratinas, Poet | 5 |
| Praxagoras, Physician | 4 |
| Praxilla, Poetess | 5 |
| Praxiteles, Statuary | 4 |
| Prodicus, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Pronapides, Poet | 10 |
| Protagoras, Philosopher | 5 |
| Protogenes, Painter | 4 |
| Ptolomæus, Historian | 4 |
| Pyromachus, Statuary | 4 |
| Pythagoras, Philosopher | 6 |
| Pythagoras, Statuary | 5 |
| Pytheas, Astronomer | 4 |
| Pytheas, Orator | 4 |
| Pythodorus, Statuary | 6 |
| **R** | |
| Rhinton, Poet | 4 |
| Rhœcus, Founder | 7 |
| **S** | |
| Sacadas, Poet | 6 |
| Sapho, Poetess | 7 |
| Satyrus, Architect | 4 |
| Scopas, Statuary | 4 |
| Scylax, Navigator | 5 |
| Scyllis, Statuary | 6 |
| Silanion, Statuary | |
| Simmias, Philosopher | 4 |



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| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Simmias, Poet | 4 |
| Simon, Statuary | 5 |
| Simonides, Poet | 6 |
| Simonides, Poet | 5 |
| Siſyphus, Poet | * |
| Socrates, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Socrates, Statuary | 5 |
| Soidas, Statuary | 6 |
| Solon, one of the ſeven ſages | 6 |
| Somis, Statuary | 5 |
| Sophocles, Poet | 5 |
| Sophron, Poet | 5 |
| Soſtratus, Statuary | 4 |
| Sotades, Poet | 4 |
| Speuſippus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Spintharus, Architect | 6 |
| Steſichorus, the elder, Poet | 7 |
| Steſichorus, the younger, Poet | 5 |
| Steſimbrotus, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Sthenis, Statuary | 4 |
| Stilpo, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Stomius, Statuary | 5 |
| Stratis, Poet | 5 |
| Strato, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Suſarion, Buffoon | 6 |
| Syennefis, Phyſician | 4 |
| T | |
| Tectæus, Statuary | 6 |
| Teleclides, Poet | 5 |
| Telephanes, Muſician | 4 |
| Telephanes, Statuary | 4 |
| Teleſilla, Poeteſs | 5 |
| Teleſtes, Poet | 5 |
| Terpander, Poet | 7 |
| Thales, Legiſlator | 10 |
| Thales, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Thamyris, Muſician | * |
| Theætetus, Aſtronomer | 5 |
| Theagenes, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Theano, Poeteſs | 6 |
| Theocles, Statuary | 4 |
| Theodectes, Rhetorician | 4 |
| Theodorus, Actor | 4 |
| Theodorus, Founder | 7 |
| Theodorus, Mathematician | 5 |
| Theodorus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Theodorus, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Theognis, Poet | 6 |
| Theomneſtus, Painter | 4 |
| Theophilus, Poet | 5 |

| Names and Profeſſions. | Cents. bef. C. |
|---|---|
| Theophraſtus, Muſician | 5 |
| Theophraſtus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Theopompus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Theopompus, Poet | 5 |
| Theramenes, Orator | 5 |
| Therimachus, Painter | 4 |
| Theſpis, Poet | 6 |
| Theſſalus, Phyſician | 5 |
| Theudius, Mathematician | 4 |
| Thraſias, Phyſician | 4 |
| Thraſymachus, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Thucydides, Hiſtorian | 5 |
| Timæus, Hiſtorian | 4 |
| Timæus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Timagoras, Painter | 5 |
| Timanthes, Painter | 4 |
| Timarchus, Statuary | 4 |
| Timocharis, Aſtronomer | 4 |
| Timocreon, Poet | 5 |
| Timolaus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Timoleon, Legiſlator | 4 |
| Timotheus, Muſician | 4 |
| Timotheus, Poet | 4 |
| Timotheus, Statuary | 5 |
| Tinichus, Poet | 4 |
| Tireſias, Poet | * |
| Tiſias, Rhetorician | 5 |
| Tiſicrates, Statuary | 5 |
| Tyrtæus, Poet | 7 |
| X | |
| Xanthus, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Xanthus, Poet | 5 |
| Xenagoras, Ship-builder | 4 |
| Xenarchus, Poet | 5 |
| Xenocles, Architect | 5 |
| Xenocrates, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Xenocritus, Poet | 8 |
| Xenodamus, Poet | 10 |
| Xenomedes, Hiſtorian | 6 |
| Xenophanes, Philoſopher | 6 |
| Xenophilus, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Xenophon, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Z | |
| Zaleucus, Legiſlator | 8 |
| Zenodotus, Poet | 4 |
| Zeno, Philoſopher | 5 |
| Zeno, Philoſopher | 4 |
| Zeuxis, Painter | 4 |
| Zeuxis, Statuary | 4 |
| Zoilus, Rhetorician | 4 |



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# TABLE IV.

## Roman Measures reduced to French (and English).

It is necessary that we should know the value of the Roman foot and mile, to enable us to ascertain the value of the itinerary measures of the Greeks.

The French Royal foot is divided into 12 inches; each of which inches is again divided into 12 lines: thus the whole foot contains 1440 tenths of a line.

| Tenths of a Line. | Inches. | Lines. | Tenths of a Line. | Inches. | Lines. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1440 | 12 | — | 1308 | 10 | $10\frac{8}{10}$ |
| 1430 | 11 | 11 | 1307 | 10 | $10\frac{7}{10}$ |
| 1420 | 11 | 10 | 1306 | 10 | $10\frac{6}{10}$ |
| 1410 | 11 | 9 | 1305 | 10 | $10\frac{5}{10}$ |
| 1400 | 11 | 8 | 1304 | 10 | $10\frac{4}{10}$ |
| 1390 | 11 | 7 | 1303 | 10 | $10\frac{3}{10}$ |
| 1380 | 11 | 6 | 1302 | 10 | $10\frac{2}{10}$ |
| 1370 | 11 | 5 | 1301 | 10 | $10\frac{1}{10}$ |
| 1360 | 11 | 4 | 1300 | 10 | 10 |
| 1350 | 11 | 3 | 1299 | 10 | $9\frac{9}{10}$ |
| 1340 | 11 | 2 | 1298 | 10 | $9\frac{8}{10}$ |
| 1330 | 11 | 1 | 1297 | 10 | $9\frac{7}{10}$ |
| 1320 | 11 | — | 1296 | 10 | $9\frac{6}{10}$ |
| 1315 | 10 | $11\frac{5}{10}$ | 1295 | 10 | $9\frac{5}{10}$ |
| 1314 | 10 | $11\frac{4}{10}$ | 1294 | 10 | $9\frac{4}{10}$ |
| 1313 | 10 | $11\frac{3}{10}$ | 1293 | 10 | $9\frac{3}{10}$ |
| 1312 | 10 | $11\frac{2}{10}$ | 1292 | 10 | $9\frac{2}{10}$ |
| 1311 | 10 | $11\frac{1}{10}$ | 1291 | 10 | $9\frac{1}{10}$ |
| 1310 | 10 | 11 | 1290 | 10 | 9 |
| 1309 | 10 | $10\frac{9}{10}$ | | | |

The learned are not agreed on the number of tenths of a line which should be assigned to the Roman foot; but I have chosen to follow M. D'Anville and others, who fix it at 1306, or 10 inches, $10\frac{6}{10}$ lines (11,5988 inches, English).

According to this estimation, the Roman pace, consisting of 5 feet, will contain 4 French Royal feet, 6 inches, 5 lines (4 feet 9,9940 inches Eng.)

The Roman mile, consisting of a thousand paces, will contain 755 toises, 4 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines. But to avoid fractions I shall take it, with M. D'Anville, at 756 toises (1611 yards, or 7 furlongs 71 yards English).

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As 8 ſtadia are uſually reckoned to the Roman mile, if we take the eighth part of 756 toiſes, the value of that mile, we ſhall have for the ſtadium 94½ toiſes (D'Anville Meſ. Itiner. p. 70).

The Greeks had different kinds of ſtadia, but we here only ſpeak of the ordinary ſtadium known by the name of the Olympian.

## TABLE V.

### Roman Feet reduced to French (and Engliſh) Feet.

| Roman F. | Fr. Roy. F. | Inch. | Lines. | Eng. F. | Inch. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0 | 10 | 10 6/10 | 0 | 11,5988 |
| 2 | 1 | 9 | 9 2/10 | 1 | 11,1976 |
| 3 | 2 | 8 | 7 8/10 | 2 | 10,7964 |
| 4 | 3 | 7 | 6 4/10 | 3 | 10,3952 |
| 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 9,9940 |
| 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 6/10 | 5 | 9,5928 |
| 7 | 6 | 4 | 2 2/10 | 6 | 9,1916 |
| 8 | 7 | 3 | 0 8/10 | 7 | 8,7904 |
| 9 | 8 | 1 | 11 4/10 | 8 | 8,3892 |
| 10 | 9 | 0 | 10 | 9 | 7,9880 |
| 11 | 9 | 11 | 8 6/10 | 10 | 7,5868 |
| 12 | 10 | 10 | 7 2/10 | 11 | 7,1856 |
| 13 | 11 | 9 | 5 8/10 | 12 | 6,7844 |
| 14 | 12 | 8 | 4 4/10 | 13 | 6,3832 |
| 15 | 13 | 7 | 3 | 14 | 5,9820 |
| 16 | 14 | 6 | 1 6/10 | 15 | 5,5808 |
| 17 | 15 | 5 | 0 2/10 | 16 | 5,1796 |
| 18 | 16 | 3 | 10 8/10 | 17 | 4,7784 |
| 19 | 17 | 2 | 9 4/10 | 18 | 4,3772 |
| 20 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 19 | 3,9760 |
| 21 | 19 | 0 | 6 6/10 | 20 | 3,5748 |
| 22 | 19 | 11 | 5 2/10 | 21 | 3,1736 |
| 23 | 20 | 10 | 3 8/10 | 22 | 2,7724 |
| 24 | 21 | 9 | 2 4/10 | 23 | 2,3712 |
| 25 | 22 | 8 | 1 | 24 | 1,9700 |
| 26 | 23 | 6 | 11 6/10 | 25 | 1,5688 |
| 27 | 24 | 5 | 10 2/10 | 26 | 1,1676 |
| 28 | 25 | 4 | 8 8/10 | 27 | 0,7664 |
| 29 | 26 | 3 | 7 4/10 | 28 | 0,3652 |
| 30 | 27 | 2 | 6 | 28 | 11,9640 |
| 31 | 28 | 1 | 4 6/10 | 29 | 11,5628 |



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| Roman F. | Fr. Roy. F. | Inch. | Lines. | Eng. F. | Inch. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32 | 29 | 0 | $3\frac{3}{10}$ | 30 | 11,1616 |
| 33 | 29 | 11 | $1\frac{9}{10}$ | 31 | 10,7604 |
| 34 | 30 | 10 | $0\frac{4}{10}$ | 32 | 10,3592 |
| 35 | 31 | 8 | 11 | 33 | 9,9580 |
| 36 | 32 | 7 | $9\frac{6}{10}$ | 34 | 9,5568 |
| 37 | 33 | 6 | $8\frac{2}{10}$ | 35 | 9,1556 |
| 38 | 34 | 5 | $6\frac{9}{10}$ | 36 | 8,7544 |
| 39 | 35 | 4 | $5\frac{4}{10}$ | 37 | 8,3532 |
| 40 | 36 | 3 | 4 | 38 | 7,9520 |
| 41 | 37 | 2 | $2\frac{6}{10}$ | 39 | 7,5508 |
| 42 | 38 | 1 | $1\frac{1}{10}$ | 40 | 7,1496 |
| 43 | 38 | 11 | $11\frac{1}{10}$ | 41 | 6,7484 |
| 44 | 39 | 10 | $10\frac{6}{10}$ | 42 | 6,3472 |
| 45 | 40 | 9 | 9 | 43 | 5,9460 |
| 46 | 41 | 8 | $7\frac{6}{10}$ | 44 | 5,5448 |
| 47 | 42 | 7 | $6\frac{1}{10}$ | 45 | 5,1436 |
| 48 | 43 | 6 | $4\frac{8}{10}$ | 46 | 4,7424 |
| 49 | 44 | 5 | $3\frac{4}{10}$ | 47 | 4,3412 |
| 50 | 45 | 4 | 2 | 48 | 3,9400 |
| 60 | 54 | 5 | 0 | 57 | 11,9280 |
| 70 | 63 | 5 | 10 | 67 | 7,9160 |
| 80 | 72 | 6 | 8 | 77 | 3,9040 |
| 90 | 81 | 7 | 6 | 86 | 11,8920 |
| 100 | 90 | 8 | 4 | 96 | 7,8800 |
| 200 | 181 | 4 | 8 | 193 | 3,7600 |
| 300 | 272 | 1 | 0 | 289 | 11,6400 |
| 400 | 362 | 9 | 4 | 386 | 7,5200 |
| 500 | 453 | 5 | 8 | 483 | 3,4000 |
| 600 | 544 | 2 | 0 | 579 | 11,2800 |
| 700 | 634 | 10 | 4 | 676 | 7,1600 |
| 800 | 725 | 6 | 8 | 773 | 3,0400 |
| 900 | 816 | 3 | 0 | 869 | 10,9200 |
| 1000 | 906 | 11 | 4 | 966 | 6,8 |
| 2000 | 1813 | 10 | 8 | 1933 | 1,6 |
| 3000 | 2720 | 10 | 0 | 2899 | 8,4 |
| 4000 | 3627 | 9 | 4 | 3866 | 3,2 |
| 5000 | 4534 | 8 | 8 | 4832 | 10 |
| 6000 | 5441 | 8 | 0 | 5799 | 4,8 |
| 7000 | 6348 | 7 | 4 | 6765 | 11,6 |
| 8000 | 7255 | 6 | 8 | 7732 | 6,4 |
| 9000 | 8162 | 6 | 0 | 8699 | 1,2 |
| 10000 | 9069 | 5 | 4 | 9665 | 8 |
| 15000 | 13604 | 2 | 0 | 14498 | 6 |
| 20000 | 18138 | 10 | 8 | 19331 | 4 |

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# TABLE VI.

## Roman Paces reduced to French Toiſes (and Engliſh Yards).

I HAVE ſaid above that the Roman pace, containing 5 Roman feet, might be equal to about 4 French feet, 6 inches, 5 lines (4 feet 9,9940 inches Engliſh).

| Roman Paces. | Toiſes. | Feet. | Inch. | Lines. | Yards. | Feet. | Inch. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | — | 4 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 9.9940 |
| 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 10 | 3 | 0 | 7,9880 |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5,982 |
| 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 3,976 |
| 5 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 1,970 |
| 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 11,964 |
| 7 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 9,958 |
| 8 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 7,952 |
| 9 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 5,946 |
| 10 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 16 | 0 | 3,940 |
| 11 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 7 | 17 | 2 | 1,934 |
| 12 | 9 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 11,928 |
| 13 | 9 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 20 | 2 | 9,922 |
| 14 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 10 | 22 | 1 | 7,916 |
| 15 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 24 | 0 | 5,910 |
| 16 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 25 | 2 | 3,904 |
| 17 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 27 | 1 | 1,898 |
| 18 | 13 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 28 | 2 | 11,892 |
| 19 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 30 | 1 | 9,886 |
| 20 | 15 | 0 | 8 | 4 | 32 | 0 | 7,880 |
| 21 | 15 | 5 | 2 | 9 | 33 | 2 | 5,874 |
| 22 | 16 | 3 | 9 | 2 | 35 | 1 | 3,868 |
| 23 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 37 | 0 | 1,862 |
| 24 | 18 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 38 | 1 | 11,856 |
| 25 | 18 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 40 | 0 | 9,850 |
| 26 | 19 | 3 | 10 | 10 | 41 | 2 | 7,844 |
| 27 | 20 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 43 | 1 | 5,838 |
| 28 | 21 | 0 | 11 | 8 | 45 | 0 | 3,832 |
| 29 | 21 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 46 | 2 | 1.826 |
| 30 | 22 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 48 | 0 | 11,820 |
| 31 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 49 | 2 | 9,814 |
| 32 | 24 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 51 | 1 | 7,808 |
| 33 | 24 | 5 | 7 | 9 | 53 | 0 | 5,802 |
| 34 | 25 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 54 | 2 | 3,796 |

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| Roman Paces. | Toiſes. | Feet. | Inch. | Lines. | Yards. | Feet. | Inch. Det. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35 | 26 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 56 | 1 | 1,790 |
| 36 | 27 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 57 | 2 | 11,784 |
| 37 | 27 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 59 | 1 | 9,778 |
| 38 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 61 | 0 | 7,772 |
| 39 | 29 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 62 | 2 | 5,766 |
| 40 | 30 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 64 | 1 | 3,760 |
| 41 | 30 | 5 | 11 | 1 | 66 | 0 | 1,754 |
| 42 | 31 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 67 | 1 | 11,748 |
| 43 | 32 | 2 | 11 | 11 | 69 | 0 | 9,742 |
| 44 | 33 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 70 | 2 | 7,736 |
| 45 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 72 | 1 | 5,730 |
| 46 | 34 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 74 | 0 | 3,724 |
| 47 | 35 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 75 | 2 | 1,718 |
| 48 | 36 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 77 | 0 | 11,712 |
| 49 | 37 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 78 | 2 | 9,706 |
| 50 | 37 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 80 | 1 | 7,700 |
| 51 | 38 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 82 | 0 | 5,694 |
| 52 | 39 | 1 | 9 | 8 | 83 | 2 | 3,688 |
| 53 | 40 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 85 | 1 | 1,682 |
| 54 | 40 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 86 | 2 | 11,676 |
| 55 | 41 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 88 | 1 | 9,670 |
| 60 | 45 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 96 | 1 | 11,640 |
| 70 | 52 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 112 | 2 | 3,580 |
| 80 | 60 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 128 | 2 | 7,520 |
| 90 | 68 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 144 | 2 | 11,460 |
| 100 | 75 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 161 | 0 | 3,400 |
| 200 | 151 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 322 | 0 | 6,8 |
| 300 | 226 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 483 | 0 | 10,2 |
| 400 | 302 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 644 | 1 | 1,6 |
| 500 | 377 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 805 | 1 | 5,0 |
| 600 | 453 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 966 | 1 | 8,4 |
| 700 | 529 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 1127 | 1 | 11,8 |
| 800 | 604 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 1288 | 2 | 3,2 |
| 900 | 680 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1449 | 2 | 6,6 |
| 1000 | 755 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 1610 | 2 | 10 |
| 2000 | 1511 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3221 | 2 | 8 |
| 3000 | 2267 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4832 | 2 | 6 |
| 4000 | 3023 | 0 | 10 | 8 | 6443 | 2 | 4 |
| 5000 | 3778 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 8054 | 2 | 2 |
| 10000 | 7557 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 16109 | 1 | 4 |
| 20000 | 15115 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 32218 | 2 | 8 |
| 30000 | 22673 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 48328 | 1 | 0 |
| 40000 | 30231 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 64437 | 2 | 4 |
| 50000 | 37789 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 80547 | 0 | 8 |
| 100000 | 75578 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 161094 | 1 | 4 |
| 200000 | 151157 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 322188 | 2 | 8 |
| 300000 | 226736 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 483282 | 4 | 0 |
| 400000 | 302314 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 644376 | 5 | 4 |

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# TABLE VII.

## Roman Miles reduced to French Toiſes (and Engliſh Miles, &c.)

We have ſeen by the preceding table, that, if we take the Roman pace at 4 feet, 6 inches, 5 lines, the Roman mile will contain 755 toiſes, 4 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines; but to avoid fractions we ſhall take it, with M. D'Anville, at 756 toiſes (1611 yards Eng.)

| Rom. Miles. | Toiſes. | Eng. Mil. | Fur. | Yards | Rom. Miles | Toiſes | Eng. Mil. | Fur. | Yards. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 756 | 0 | 7 | 71 | 29 | 21924 | 26 | 4 | 79 |
| 2 | 1512 | 1 | 6 | 142 | 30 | 22680 | 27 | 3 | 150 |
| 3 | 2268 | 2 | 5 | 213 | 31 | 23436 | 28 | 3 | 1 |
| 4 | 3024 | 3 | 5 | 64 | 32 | 24192 | 29 | 2 | 78 |
| 5 | 3780 | 4 | 4 | 135 | 33 | 24948 | 30 | 1 | 149 |
| 6 | 4536 | 5 | 3 | 206 | 34 | 25704 | 31 | 1 | 0 |
| 7 | 5292 | 6 | 3 | 57 | 35 | 26460 | 32 | 0 | 71 |
| 8 | 6048 | 7 | 2 | 128 | 36 | 27216 | 32 | 7 | 142 |
| 9 | 6804 | 8 | 1 | 199 | 37 | 27972 | 33 | 6 | 213 |
| 10 | 7560 | 9 | 1 | 50 | 38 | 28728 | 34 | 6 | 64 |
| 11 | 8316 | 10 | 0 | 121 | 39 | 29484 | 35 | 5 | 135 |
| 12 | 9072 | 10 | 7 | 192 | 40 | 30240 | 36 | 4 | 206 |
| 13 | 9828 | 11 | 7 | 43 | 41 | 30996 | 37 | 4 | 57 |
| 14 | 10584 | 12 | 6 | 114 | 42 | 31752 | 38 | 3 | 128 |
| 15 | 11340 | 13 | 5 | 185 | 43 | 32508 | 39 | 2 | 199 |
| 16 | 12096 | 14 | 5 | 36 | 44 | 33264 | 40 | 2 | 50 |
| 17 | 12852 | 15 | 4 | 107 | 45 | 34020 | 41 | 1 | 121 |
| 18 | 13608 | 16 | 3 | 178 | 46 | 34776 | 42 | 0 | 192 |
| 19 | 14364 | 17 | 3 | 29 | 47 | 35532 | 43 | 0 | 43 |
| 20 | 15120 | 18 | 2 | 100 | 48 | 36288 | 43 | 7 | 108 |
| 21 | 15876 | 19 | 1 | 171 | 49 | 37044 | 44 | 6 | 179 |
| 22 | 16632 | 20 | 1 | 22 | 50 | 37800 | 45 | 6 | 30 |
| 23 | 17388 | 21 | 0 | 93 | 100 | 75600 | 91 | 4 | 60 |
| 24 | 18144 | 21 | 7 | 164 | 200 | 151200 | 183 | 0 | 120 |
| 25 | 18900 | 22 | 7 | 15 | 300 | 226800 | 274 | 4 | 180 |
| 26 | 19656 | 23 | 6 | 86 | 400 | 302400 | 366 | 1 | 20 |
| 27 | 20412 | 24 | 5 | 157 | 500 | 378000 | 457 | 5 | 80 |
| 28 | 21168 | 25 | 5 | 8 | 1000 | 756000 | 915 | 2 | 160 |

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## TABLE VIII.

### Grecian Feet reduced to French (and Engliſh) Feet.

We have ſaid that the French foot is divided into 1440 tenths of a line, of which the Roman foot contained 1306.

The proportion of the Roman foot to the Grecian foot being as 24 to 25, we ſhall have for the latter 1360 tenths of a line, and a very ſmall fraction, which may be diſregarded, 1360 tenths of a line give 11 inches 4 lines.

| Grecian F. | Fr. Roy. F. | Inch. | Lines. | Eng. F. | Inch. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 0.0786 |
| 2 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 0,1572 |
| 3 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 0,2358 |
| 4 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 0,3144 |
| 5 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 0,3930 |
| 6 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 0,4716 |
| 7 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 0,5502 |
| 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 0,6288 |
| 9 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 9 | 0,7074 |
| 10 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 0,7860 |
| 11 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 11 | 0,8646 |
| 12 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 12 | 0,9432 |
| 13 | 12 | 3 | 4 | 13 | 1,0218 |
| 14 | 13 | 2 | 8 | 14 | 1,1004 |
| 15 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 15 | 1,1790 |
| 16 | 15 | 1 | 4 | 16 | 1,2576 |
| 17 | 16 | 0 | 8 | 17 | 1,3362 |
| 18 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 1,4148 |
| 19 | 17 | 11 | 4 | 19 | 1,4934 |
| 20 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 20 | 1,5720 |
| 21 | 19 | 10 | 0 | 21 | 1,6506 |
| 22 | 20 | 9 | 4 | 22 | 1,7292 |
| 23 | 21 | 8 | 8 | 23 | 1,8078 |
| 24 | 22 | 8 | 0 | 24 | 1,8864 |
| 25 | 23 | 7 | 4 | 25 | 1,9650 |
| 26 | 24 | 6 | 8 | 26 | 2,0436 |
| 27 | 25 | 6 | 0 | 27 | 2,1222 |
| 28 | 26 | 5 | 4 | 28 | 2,2008 |
| 29 | 27 | 4 | 8 | 29 | 2,2794 |

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| Grecian F. | Fr. Roy F. | Inch. | Linea. | Eng. F. | Inch. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | 28 | 4 | 0 | 30 | 2,3580 |
| 31 | 29 | 3 | 4 | 31 | 2,4366 |
| 32 | 30 | 2 | 8 | 32 | 2,5152 |
| 33 | 31 | 2 | 0 | 33 | 2,5938 |
| 34 | 32 | 1 | 4 | 34 | 2,6724 |
| 35 | 33 | 0 | 8 | 35 | 2,7510 |
| 36 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 2,8296 |
| 37 | 34 | 11 | 4 | 37 | 2,9082 |
| 38 | 35 | 10 | 8 | 38 | 2.9868 |
| 39 | 36 | 10 | 0 | 39 | 3,0654 |
| 40 | 37 | 9 | 4 | 40 | 3,1440 |
| 41 | 38 | 8 | 8 | 41 | 3,2226 |
| 42 | 39 | 8 | 0 | 42 | 3,3012 |
| 43 | 40 | 7 | 4 | 43 | 3,3798 |
| 44 | 41 | 6 | 8 | 44 | 3,4584 |
| 45 | 42 | 6 | 0 | 45 | 3,5370 |
| 46 | 43 | 5 | 4 | 46 | 3,6156 |
| 47 | 44 | 4 | 8 | 47 | 3,6943 |
| 48 | 45 | 4 | 0 | 48 | 3,7728 |
| 49 | 46 | 3 | 4 | 49 | 3,8514 |
| 50 | 47 | 2 | 8 | 50 | 3,9300 |
| 100 | 94 | 5 | 4 | 100 | 7,86 |
| 200 | 188 | 10 | 8 | 201 | 3,72 |
| 300 | 283 | 4 | 0 | 301 | 11,58 |
| 400 | 377 | 9 | 4 | 402 | 7,44 |
| 500 | 472 | 2 | 8 | 503 | 3,3 |
| 600 | 566 | 8 | 0 | 603 | 11,16' |

According to this table, 600 Grecian feet give only 94 toiſes, 2 feet, 8 inches, inſtead of 94 toiſes, 3 feet, at which we have eſtimated the ſtadium. This ſlight difference ariſes from our having, with M. D'Anville, to avoid fractions, taken the Roman mile at ſomewhat more, and the ſtadium at ſomewhat leſs, than its true value.

## TABLE IX.

Stadia reduced to French Toiſes, Roman Miles (and Engliſh Meaſures).

| Stadia. | Fr. Toiſes. | Rom. Mil | Eng. Mil. | Fur. | Yds. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 94½ | ⅛ | 0 | 0 | 201,4278 |
| 2 | 189 | ¼ | 0 | 1 | 182,8556 |
| 3 | 283½ | ⅜ | 0 | 2 | 164,2834 |

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| Stadia. | Fr. Toises. | Rom. Miles. | Eng. Mil. | Fur. | Yds. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 378 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 | 3 | 145,7112 |
| 5 | 472$\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{5}{8}$ | 0 | 4 | 127,1390 |
| 6 | 567 | $\frac{3}{4}$ | 0 | 5 | 108,5668 |
| 7 | 661$\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{7}{8}$ | 0 | 6 | 89,9946 |
| 8 | 756 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 71,4224 |
| 9 | 850$\frac{1}{2}$ | 1$\frac{1}{8}$ | 1 | 0 | 52,8502 |
| 10 | 945 | 1$\frac{1}{4}$ | 1 | 1 | 34,2780 |
| 11 | 1039$\frac{1}{2}$ | 1$\frac{3}{8}$ | 1 | 2 | 15,7058 |
| 12 | 1134 | 1$\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 | 2 | 217,1336 |
| 13 | 1228$\frac{1}{2}$ | 1$\frac{5}{8}$ | 1 | 3 | 198,5614 |
| 14 | 1323 | 1$\frac{3}{4}$ | 1 | 4 | 179,9892 |
| 15 | 1417$\frac{1}{2}$ | 1$\frac{7}{8}$ | 1 | 5 | 161,4170 |
| 16 | 1512 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 142,8448 |
| 17 | 1606$\frac{1}{2}$ | 2$\frac{1}{8}$ | 1 | 7 | 124,2726 |
| 18 | 1701 | 2$\frac{1}{4}$ | 2 | 0 | 105,7004 |
| 19 | 1795$\frac{1}{2}$ | 2$\frac{3}{8}$ | 2 | 1 | 87,1282 |
| 20 | 1890 | 2$\frac{1}{2}$ | 2 | 2 | 68,5560 |
| 21 | 1984$\frac{1}{2}$ | 2$\frac{5}{8}$ | 2 | 3 | 49,9838 |
| 22 | 2079 | 2$\frac{3}{4}$ | 2 | 4 | 31,4116 |
| 23 | 2173$\frac{1}{2}$ | 2$\frac{7}{8}$ | 2 | 5 | 12,8394 |
| 24 | 2268 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 214,2672 |
| 25 | 2362$\frac{1}{2}$ | 3$\frac{1}{8}$ | 2 | 6 | 195,6950 |
| 26 | 2457 | 3$\frac{1}{4}$ | 2 | 7 | 177,1228 |
| 27 | 2551$\frac{1}{2}$ | 3$\frac{3}{8}$ | 3 | 0 | 158,5506 |
| 28 | 2646 | 3$\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 | 1 | 139,9784 |
| 29 | 2740$\frac{1}{2}$ | 3$\frac{5}{8}$ | 3 | 2 | 121,4062 |
| 30 | 2835 | 3$\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 | 3 | 102,8340 |
| 35 | 3307$\frac{1}{2}$ | 4$\frac{3}{8}$ | 4 | 0 | 9,9730 |
| 40 | 3780 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 137,1120 |
| 45 | 4252$\frac{1}{2}$ | 5$\frac{5}{8}$ | 5 | 1 | 44,2510 |
| 50 | 4725 | 6$\frac{1}{4}$ | 5 | 5 | 171,390 |
| 55 | 5197$\frac{1}{2}$ | 6$\frac{7}{8}$ | 6 | 2 | 78,529 |
| 60 | 5670 | 7$\frac{1}{2}$ | 6 | 6 | 205,668 |
| 65 | 6142$\frac{1}{2}$ | 8$\frac{1}{8}$ | 7 | 3 | 112,807 |
| 70 | 6615 | 8$\frac{3}{4}$ | 8 | 0 | 19,946 |
| 75 | 7087$\frac{1}{2}$ | 9$\frac{3}{8}$ | 8 | 4 | 147,085 |
| 80 | 7560 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 54,224 |
| 85 | 8032$\frac{1}{2}$ | 10$\frac{5}{8}$ | 9 | 5 | 181,363 |
| 90 | 8505 | 11$\frac{1}{4}$ | 10 | 2 | 88,502 |
| 95 | 8977$\frac{1}{2}$ | 11$\frac{7}{8}$ | 10 | 6 | 215,641 |
| 100 | 9450 | 12$\frac{1}{2}$ | 11 | 3 | 122,780 |
| 200 | 18900 | 25 | 22 | 7 | 25,560 |
| 300 | 28350 | 37$\frac{1}{2}$ | 34 | 2 | 148,34 |
| 400 | 37800 | 50 | 45 | 6 | 51,12 |
| 500 | 47250 | 62$\frac{1}{2}$ | 57 | 1 | 173,90 |
| 600 | 56700 | 75 | 68 | 5 | 76,68 |
| 700 | 66150 | 87$\frac{1}{2}$ | 80 | 0 | 199,46 |

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| Stadia. | Fr. Toises. | Rom. Miles. | Eng. Mil. | Fur. | Yds. Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 800 | 75600 | 100 | 91 | 4 | 102,24 |
| 900 | 85050 | 112½ | 103 | 0 | 5,02 |
| 1000 | 94500 | 125 | 114 | 3 | 127,80 |
| 2000 | 189000 | 250 | 228 | 7 | 35,6 |
| 3000 | 283500 | 375 | 343 | 2 | 163,4 |
| 4000 | 378000 | 500 | 457 | 6 | 71,2 |
| 5000 | 472500 | 625 | 572 | 1 | 199,0 |
| 6000 | 567000 | 750 | 686 | 5 | 106,8 |
| 7000 | 661500 | 875 | 801 | 1 | 14,6 |
| 8000 | 756000 | 1000 | 915 | 4 | 142,4 |
| 9000 | 850500 | 1125 | 1030 | 0 | 50,2 |
| 10000 | 945000 | 1250 | 1144 | 3 | 58 |
| 11000 | 1039500 | 1375 | 1258 | 6 | 185 |
| 12000 | 1134000 | 1500 | 1373 | 2 | 92 |
| 13000 | 1228500 | 1625 | 1487 | 5 | 219 |
| 14000 | 1323000 | 1750 | 1602 | 1 | 126 |
| 15000 | 1417500 | 1875 | 1716 | 5 | 33 |
| 16000 | 1512000 | 2000 | 1831 | 0 | 160 |
| 17000 | 1606500 | 2125 | 1945 | 4 | 67 |
| 18000 | 1701000 | 2250 | 2059 | 7 | 194 |
| 19000 | 1795500 | 2375 | 2174 | 3 | 101 |
| 20000 | 1890000 | 2500 | 2288 | 7 | 8 |

[The small difference in the value of the Roman miles, in the high numbers, observable between this Table and Table VII. arises from the neglect of the fraction in the latter, which it seemed more necessary to retain here, both for accuracy, and to prevent a still greater disagreement. T.]

## TABLE X.

Stadia estimated in French Leagues of 2500 Toises each.

| Stadia. | Leagues. | Toises. | Stadia. | Leagues. | Toises. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | — | 94½ | 7 | — | 661½ |
| 2 | — | 189 | 8 | — | 756 |
| 3 | — | 283½ | 9 | — | 850½ |
| 4 | — | 378 | 10 | — | 945 |
| 5 | — | 472½ | 11 | — | 1039½ |
| 6 | — | 567 | 12 | — | 1134 |

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| Stadia. | | Leagues. | Toises. | Stadia. | | Leagues. | Toises. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | — | — | 1228½ | 270 | — | 10 | 515 |
| 14 | — | — | 1323 | 280 | — | 10 | 1460 |
| 15 | — | — | 1417½ | 290 | — | 10 | 2405 |
| 16 | — | — | 1512 | 300 | — | 11 | 850 |
| 17 | — | — | 1606½ | 400 | — | 15 | 300 |
| 18 | — | — | 1701 | 500 | — | 18 | 2250 |
| 19 | — | — | 1795½ | 600 | — | 22 | 1700 |
| 20 | — | — | 1890 | 700 | — | 26 | 1150 |
| 21 | — | — | 1984½ | 800 | — | 30 | 600 |
| 22 | — | — | 2079 | 900 | — | 34 | 50 |
| 23 | — | — | 2173½ | 1000 | — | 37 | 2000 |
| 24 | — | — | 2268 | 1500 | — | 56 | 1750 |
| 25 | — | — | 2362½ | 2000 | — | 75 | 1500 |
| 26 | — | — | 2457 | 2500 | — | 94 | 1250 |
| 27 | — | 1 | 51½ | 3000 | — | 113 | 1000 |
| 28 | — | 1 | 146 | 4000 | — | 151 | 500 |
| 29 | — | 1 | 240½ | 5000 | — | 189 | — |
| 30 | — | 1 | 335 | 6000 | — | 226 | 2000 |
| 35 | — | 1 | 807½ | 7000 | — | 264 | 1500 |
| 40 | — | 1 | 1280 | 8000 | — | 302 | 1000 |
| 45 | — | 1 | 1752½ | 9000 | — | 340 | 500 |
| 50 | — | 1 | 2225 | 10000 | — | 378 | — |
| 55 | — | 2 | 197½ | 11000 | — | 415 | 2000 |
| 60 | — | 2 | 670 | 12000 | — | 453 | 1500 |
| 65 | — | 2 | 1142½ | 13000 | — | 491 | 1000 |
| 70 | — | 2 | 1615 | 14000 | — | 520 | 500 |
| 75 | — | 2 | 2087½ | 15000 | — | 567 | — |
| 80 | — | 3 | 60 | 16000 | — | 604 | 2000 |
| 85 | — | 3 | 532½ | 17000 | — | 642 | 1500 |
| 90 | — | 3 | 1005 | 18000 | — | 680 | 1000 |
| 95 | — | 3 | 1477½ | 19000 | — | 718 | 500 |
| 100 | — | 3 | 1950 | 20000 | — | 756 | — |
| 110 | — | 4 | 395 | 25000 | — | 945 | — |
| 120 | — | 4 | 1340 | 30000 | — | 1134 | — |
| 130 | — | 4 | 2285 | 40000 | — | 1512 | — |
| 140 | — | 5 | 730 | 50000 | — | 1890 | — |
| 150 | — | 5 | 1675 | 60000 | — | 2268 | — |
| 160 | — | 6 | 120 | 70000 | — | 2646 | — |
| 170 | — | 6 | 1065 | 80000 | — | 3024 | — |
| 180 | — | 6 | 2010 | 90000 | — | 3402 | — |
| 190 | — | 7 | 455 | 100000 | — | 3780 | — |
| 200 | — | 7 | 1400 | 110000 | — | 4158 | — |
| 210 | — | 7 | 2345 | 120000 | — | 4536 | — |
| 220 | — | 8 | 790 | 130000 | — | 4914 | — |
| 230 | — | 8 | 1735 | 140000 | — | 5292 | — |
| 240 | — | 9 | 180 | 150000 | — | 5670 | — |
| 250 | — | 9 | 1125 | 160000 | — | 6048 | — |
| 260 | — | 9 | 2070 | 170000 | — | 6426 | — |

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| Stadia. | Leagues. | Toiſes. | Stadia. | Leagues. | Toiſes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 180000 | 6804 | —— | 250000 | 9450 | —— |
| 190000 | 7182 | —— | 260000 | 9828 | —— |
| 200000 | 7560 | —— | 270000 | 10206 | —— |
| 210000 | 7938 | —— | 280000 | 10584 | —— |
| 220000 | 8316 | —— | 290000 | 10962 | —— |
| 230000 | 8694 | —— | 300000 | 11340 | —— |
| 240000 | 9072 | —— | 400000 | 15120 | —— |

## TABLE XI.

### Athenian Money reduced to French (and Engliſh).

I do not mean to ſpeak of the gold or copper, but only of the ſilver, money of Athens; the value of the latter may eaſily be obtained from that of the former.

The talent was equal to 6000 drachmas.
The mina to 100 dr.
The tetradrachma to 4 dr.

And the drachma was divided into ſix oboli.

The value of the drachma cannot be preciſely aſcertained: the utmoſt we can do is to approach it; and to this end it will be neceſſary to know its weight and fineneſs.

I have choſen to work on the tetradrachms, becauſe they are more common than the drachmas, their other multiples, or their ſubdiviſions.

Some literary perſons, on whoſe accuracy I can rely, were ſo obliging as to lend me their aſſiſtance in weighing a great number of theſe coins. I afterwards applied to M. Tillet, of the academy of Sciences, Royal Aſſay maſter *. I ſhall ſay nothing of his intelligence, his love of the public good, or his zeal for the advancement of learning; but it is my duty to return him my thanks for having, at my requeſt, made an aſſay of ſome tetradrachms I had received from Athens, aſcertained their fineneſs, and compared their value with that of our money.

It will be proper to diſtinguiſh two kinds of tetradrachms: the more ancient, which were ſtruck till about the time of Pericles, and perhaps to the end of the Peloponneſian war; and thoſe which are poſterior to that era. Both bear on one ſide the head of Mi-

* Commiſſaire du Roi pour les Eſſais et Affinages des Monnoies.



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nerva, and on the reverſe an owl. On the latter coins, the owl ſtands on a vaſe; and they alſo bear monograms, or names; and ſometimes, though rarely, both.

1. *The more ancient tetradrachms.* Theſe are of a ruder workmanſhip, leſs in diameter, and thicker than the others. The reverſes exhibit traces more or leſs evident of the ſquare form given to money in the earlier ages. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. xxiv. p. 30.

Eiſenſchmid (De Ponder. et Menſ. ſect. 1. cap. 3) has publiſhed one which, as he aſſures us, weighed 333 grains (273$\frac{1}{2}$ grains Eng. Troy weight) which will give for the drachma 83$\frac{1}{4}$ gr. (68$\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Eng.). We have weighed fourteen ſimilar coins, the greater part of which are in the cabinet of the king of France; and thoſe in the beſt preſervation have only given 324$\frac{1}{4}$ grains. A like number are found in the Collection of Coins of Cities and States of the late Dr. Hunter (p. 48 et 49), the heavieſt of which weighs 265$\frac{1}{2}$ grains, which correſponds to 323$\frac{1}{2}$ French.

Thus we have, on the one hand, a coin which, according to Eiſenchmid, weighed 333 grains; and on the other, twenty-eight coins, of which thoſe in the beſt preſervation weigh only 324. If this author did not commit a miſtake, if other tetradrachms ſhould be diſcovered of the ſame age and the ſame weight, we muſt allow that, on ſome occaſions, they increaſed them to 332 or 336 grains; but we ſhall add that, in general, they weighed only about 324; and as, in the ſpace of 2200 years, they muſt have loſt ſomething of their weight, we may eſtimate them at 328 grains, which will give 82 grains for the drachma.

It was neceſſary to aſcertain their fineneſs. M. Tillet made an aſſay of one which weighed 324 grains, and found that it was 11 deniers 20 grains fine *; and that the almoſt pure ſilver of which it conſiſted was intrinſically worth, according to the tarif price, 52 livres 14 ſols 3 deniers, the marc.

"This tetradrachm," ſays M. Tillet, "was therefore intrinſically worth 3 livres 14 ſols (3s. 1d.); whereas 324 grains of ſilver, of the value of the French crowns, are only worth 3 livres 8 ſols (2s. 10d.).

"But the value of the ſilver in both caſes, conſidered as money, and charged with the expences of fabrication, and the right of ſeignorage, receives ſome augmentation above that of unwrought metal; and hence it is that a marc of ſilver, conſiſting of eight crowns of 6 livres and three pieces of 12 ſous, is, by the authority of the ſovereign, rendered, in commercial circulation, worth 49 livres 16 ſols, that is to ſay, 1 livre 7 ſols more than another uncoined marc of the ſame ſilver with the crowns." We muſt

* The fineneſs of ſilver is eſtimated in France by deniers and grains: each denier contains 24 grains, and pure ſilver is ſaid to be 12 deniers fine. In the above metal therefore the alloy was 1 ſeventy-two part, or 5 dwt. 8 gr. in a pound of ſilver. T.



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pay attention to this augmentation if we wish to know the true value of such a tetradrachm in our present money.

It follows from the experiments and observations of M. Tillet, that a marc of tetradrachms each of the weight of 324 grains (266 gr. Eng.), and 11 deniers 20 grains fine, would now be worth in commerce 54 livres 3 sols 9 deniers (2l. 5s. 1¼d.); each tetradrachm 3 livres 16 sols (3s. 2d.); each drachma 19 sols (9½d.); and the talent 5700 livres (237l. 10s.).

If the tetradrachm weigh 328 grains (269½ gr. Eng.), and the drachma 82, the latter will be worth 19 sols and about 3 deniers, and the talent 5775 liv. (240l. 12s. 6d.) nearly.

If we take the tetradrachm at 332 grains (272½ gr. Eng.), the drachma, weighing 83 grains, will be worth 19 sols and about 6 den. (9¾d.) and the talent nearly 5850 livres (243l. 15s.).

Estimating the weight of the tetradrachm at 336 grains (276 gr. Eng.), and that of the drachma at 84, the value of the latter will be 19 sols. 9 den. and the talent about 5925 liv. (246l. 17s. 6d.).

Lastly, if we allow 340 grains (279 gr. Eng.) for the weight of the tetradrachm, and 85 for that of the drachma, the latter will be worth about 1 liv. (10d.) and that of the talent about 6000 liv. (250l.).

It is unnecessary to remark that, if the tetradrachm be estimated at a less weight, the value of the drachma and the talent will diminish in proportion.

2. *Less ancient tetradrachms.* These were current during four or five centuries, and are much more numerous than the preceding ones, from which they differ in the shape, workmanship, monograms, names of magistrates, and other peculiarities which their reverses present; and especially by the rich ornaments with which the head of Minerva is decorated. There is even reason to conjecture that the engravers designed this head from the celebrated statue in the citadel of Athens. Pausanias (lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57.) observes that, among other ornaments, Phidias had represented a griffin on each side of the helmet of the goddess; and this symbol is, in fact, seen on the tetradrachms which are posterior to the time of that artist, but never on those which are more ancient.

We have weighed above a hundred and sixty of these tetradrachms. The cabinet of the king of France contains more than a hundred and twenty. The heaviest weigh 320 grains (263 gr. Eng.) but the number of these is very small; the greater part only weigh 315, 314, 313, 312, 310, 306, &c. or a little more or less, according to the different degrees of their preservation. There are some of a much inferior weight, because they are of baser metal.

From among more than ninety tetradrachms, described, with their weight, in the Collection of the Coins of Cities and States of the late Dr. Hunter, published with great care in England, seven or eight weigh more than 320 French grains; one among



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others, which bears the names of Mentor and Moſchion, weighs 271¼ grains Engliſh, or about 331 French; and this is the more remarkable, becauſe of five other coins from the ſame cabinet, with the ſame names, the heavieſt does not weigh more than 318 French grains, and the lighteſt only 312, which is the ſame weight as that of a ſimilar coin in the cabinet of the king of France. I expreſſed my ſurpriſe at this to Mr. Combe, the editor of that excellent collection, who was ſo obliging as to examine anew the weight of the tetradrachm in queſtion, and found that it had been accurately given. This coin, however, proves that there was an augmentation in the weight of the money, which had no conſequences.

Though the greater part of the tetradrachms that are come down to us have been diminiſhed by the wear, and other accidents, we cannot but perceive, from a general inſpection, that the weight of the ſilver coin ſuffered a diminution. Was this ſucceſſive? At what limit did it ſtop? Theſe queries are difficult to reſolve; ſince, in coins of the ſame age, we ſometimes find a remarkable uniformity in the weight, and ſometimes a difference no leſs extraordinary. Of three tetradrachms which bear the names of Phanocles and Apollonius (Collection of Hunter, p. 54), one weighs 253 grains, the other 253⅓, and the third 253¾ Engliſh Troy weight; or about 308⅓, 308⅔, 309 grains French; while nine others, with the names of Neſtor and Mnaſeas, diminiſh gradually from about 320 to about 310 French grains (ibid. p. 53).

Beſides the accidents which have diminiſhed the weight of all ancient coins, it appears that the Greek moneyers, being obliged to coin ſo many drachmas to the mina, or the talent, as ours are to ſtrike ſuch a number of twelve ſol pieces to the marc, were leſs attentive, than we are at preſent, to render the weight of each piece of money equal.

In this reſearch we are ſtopped ſhort by another difficulty. The Athenian tetradrachms have no date; and I know only one, the fabrication of which can be referred to any determinate time. It was ſtruck by command of the tyrant Ariſtion, who, in the year 88 before Chriſt, having ſeized on Athens, was beſieged in that city by Sylla. It bears on one ſide the head of Minerva, and on the other a ſtar within a creſcent, as on the coins of Mithridates. Around this is the name of that prince, that of Athens, and that of Ariſtion. It is in the collection of Dr. Hunter. Mr. Combe, to whom I applied to obtain the weight of this coin, was ſo obliging as to aſcertain it at my requeſt, and to inform me that it weighs 254 grains Engliſh, which are equivalent to 309$\frac{18}{31}$ grains French. Two other tetradrachms, from the ſame cabinet, on which the name of the ſame Ariſtion is found, together with two other names, weigh from 313 to 314 French grains.

Amid ſo many varieties, all of which I cannot here enumerate, I have judged it moſt adviſeable to chooſe a mean. We have already ſeen that, before, and in the time of Pericles, the weight of



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the drachma was 81, 82, and even 83 French grains. I imagine, that in the following century, in which age I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled, it had fallen to 79 grains, which gives 316 grains for the tetradrachm. I take this for the ſtandard, becauſe it is neareſt the weight of the greater part of tetradrachms which are in the beſt preſervation.

It appears that when the weight of the tetradrachms was diminiſhed, they were alſo adulterated; but in confirmation of this ſuppoſition many trials cannot be made. M. Tillet has made an aſſay of two tetradrachms; one of which weighed 311 grains and about two-thirds, and the other $310\frac{1}{10}$. The former was found to be 11 deniers, 12 grains fine; and conſequently had only $\frac{1}{24}$ part alloy; and the other was 11 deniers 9 grains fine.

Taking the weight of the tetradrachm at 316 grains, and ſuppoſing it 11 deniers 12 grains fine, M. Tillet eſtimates the value of the drachma to have been equivalent to 18 ſols (9d.) and a quarter of a denier of our money. We ſhall diſregard this fraction of the denier, and ſay that, taking theſe to have been, as they probably were, the true weight and fineneſs, the value of the talent was 5400 livres (225l.). It is from this valuation that I have drawn up the following table. If, ſuppoſing the tetradrachm of the ſame fineneſs, we allow it to weigh only 312 grains; the drachma, which will then weigh only 78 grains, will be worth only 17 ſols 9 deniers ($8\frac{7}{8}$d), and the talent 5325 livres (221l. 17s. 6d.). Thus diminiſhing or augmenting the weight of the drachma by a grain, diminiſhes or augments the value of that drachma by 3 deniers (half a farthing); and that of the talent by 75 livres (3l. 2s. 6d.), ſuppoſing the ſilver always of the ſame fineneſs.

To eſtimate the comparative value of the Athenian and our money to greater exactneſs, it would be neceſſary to compare the reſpective value of commodities. But I have found ſo many variations in the prices of thoſe of Athens, and ſo little aſſiſtance in ancient authors, that I have abandoned this deſign. Beſides, the table which I here give only required a general approximation to the true value.

In it, as I have already ſaid, I ſuppoſe the drachma to weigh 79 grains and to be 11 deniers 12 grains fine. The table is only relative to the ſecond kind of tetradrachms.

| Drachmas. | | Livres. | Sols. | L. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | —— | — | 18 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| The obolus, the 6th part of the drach. | | | 3 | 0 | 0 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 2 | —— | 1 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 3 | —— | 2 | 14 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| 4 | —— | 3 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 5 | —— | 4 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 6 | —— | 5 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| 7 | —— | 6 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 3 |



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| Drachmas. | | Livres. | Sols. | L. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | | 7 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 9 | | 8 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 9 |
| 10 | | 9 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| 11 | | 9 | 18 | 0 | 8 | 3 |
| 12 | | 10 | 16 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 13 | | 11 | 14 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| 14 | | 12 | 12 | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| 15 | | 13 | 10 | 0 | 11 | 3 |
| 16 | | 14 | 8 | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| 17 | | 15 | 6 | 0 | 12 | 9 |
| 18 | | 16 | 4 | 0 | 13 | 6 |
| 19 | | 17 | 2 | 0 | 14 | 3 |
| 20 | | 18 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 21 | | 18 | 18 | 0 | 15 | 9 |
| 22 | | 19 | 16 | 0 | 16 | 6 |
| 23 | | 20 | 14 | 0 | 17 | 3 |
| 24 | | 21 | 12 | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| 25 | | 22 | 10 | 0 | 18 | 9 |
| 26 | | 23 | 8 | 0 | 19 | 6 |
| 27 | | 24 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| 28 | | 25 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 29 | | 26 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| 30 | | 27 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| 31 | | 27 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 32 | | 28 | 16 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 33 | | 29 | 14 | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| 34 | | 30 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| 35 | | 31 | 10 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| 36 | | 32 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 0 |
| 37 | | 33 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 9 |
| 38 | | 34 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 6 |
| 39 | | 35 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 3 |
| 40 | | 36 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| 41 | | 36 | 18 | 1 | 10 | 9 |
| 42 | | 37 | 16 | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| 43 | | 38 | 14 | 1 | 12 | 3 |
| 44 | | 39 | 12 | 1 | 13 | 0 |
| 45 | | 40 | 10 | 1 | 13 | 9 |
| 46 | | 41 | 8 | 1 | 14 | 6 |
| 47 | | 42 | 6 | 1 | 15 | 3 |
| 48 | | 43 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| 49 | | 44 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 9 |
| 50 | | 45 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| 51 | | 45 | 18 | 1 | 18 | 3 |
| 52 | | 46 | 16 | 1 | 19 | 0 |
| 53 | | 47 | 14 | 1 | 19 | 9 |
| 54 | | 48 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| 55 | | 49 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 |

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| Drachmas. | | Livres. | Sols. | L. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | ——— | 50 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 57 | ——— | 51 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| 58 | ——— | 52 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| 59 | ——— | 53 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| 60 | ——— | 54 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| 61 | ——— | 54 | 18 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| 62 | ——— | 55 | 16 | 2 | 6 | 6 |
| 63 | ——— | 56 | 14 | 2 | 7 | 3 |
| 64 | ——— | 57 | 12 | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| 65 | ——— | 58 | 10 | 2 | 8 | 9 |
| 66 | ——— | 59 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 6 |
| 67 | ——— | 60 | 6 | 2 | 10 | 3 |
| 68 | ——— | 61 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 0 |
| 69 | ——— | 62 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 9 |
| 70 | ——— | 63 | 0 | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| 71 | ——— | 63 | 18 | 2 | 13 | 3 |
| 72 | ——— | 64 | 16 | 2 | 14 | 0 |
| 73 | ——— | 65 | 14 | 2 | 14 | 9 |
| 74 | ——— | 66 | 12 | 2 | 15 | 6 |
| 75 | ——— | 67 | 10 | 2 | 16 | 3 |
| 76 | ——— | 68 | 8 | 2 | 17 | 0 |
| 77 | ——— | 69 | 6 | 2 | 17 | 9 |
| 78 | ——— | 70 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 6 |
| 79 | ——— | 71 | 2 | 2 | 19 | 3 |
| 80 | ——— | 72 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 81 | ——— | 72 | 18 | 3 | 0 | 9 |
| 82 | ——— | 73 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| 83 | ——— | 74 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 84 | ——— | 75 | 12 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 85 | ——— | 76 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 9 |
| 86 | ——— | 77 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| 87 | ——— | 78 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| 88 | ——— | 79 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| 89 | ——— | 80 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| 90 | ——— | 81 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| 91 | ——— | 81 | 18 | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| 92 | ——— | 82 | 16 | 3 | 9 | 0 |
| 93 | ——— | 83 | 14 | 3 | 9 | 9 |
| 94 | ——— | 84 | 12 | 3 | 10 | 6 |
| 95 | ——— | 85 | 10 | 3 | 11 | 3 |
| 96 | ——— | 86 | 8 | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| 97 | ——— | 87 | 6 | 3 | 12 | 9 |
| 98 | ——— | 88 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 6 |
| 99 | ——— | 89 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 3 |
| 100 drachmas | or 1 mina | 90 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 0 |
| 200 dr. | or 2 m. | 180 | 0 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| 300 dr. | or 3 m. | 270 | 0 | 11 | 5 | 0 |
| 400 dr. | or 4 m. | 360 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 |



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| Drachmas. | | Livres. | Sols. | L. | d. | s. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 500 dr. | or 5 m. | 450 | 0 | 18 | 15 | 0 |
| 600 dr. | or 6 m. | 540 | 0 | 22 | 10 | 0 |
| 700 dr. | or 7 m. | 630 | 0 | 26 | 5 | 0 |
| 800 dr. | or 8 m. | 720 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| 900 dr. | or 9 m. | 810 | 0 | 33 | 15 | 0 |
| 1000 dr. | or 10 m. | 900 | 0 | 37 | 10 | 0 |
| 2000 dr. | or 20 m. | 1800 | 0 | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| 3000 dr. | or 30 m. | 2700 | 0 | 112 | 10 | 0 |
| 4000 dr. | or 40 m. | 3600 | 0 | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| 5000 dr. | or 50 m. | 4500 | 0 | 187 | 10 | 0 |
| 6000 dr. | or 60 mine make the talent. | | | | | |

| Talents. | Livres. | L. | Talents. | Livres. | L. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 5400 | 225 | 60 | 324000 | 13500 |
| 2 | 10800 | 450 | 70 | 378000 | 15750 |
| 3 | 16200 | 675 | 80 | 432000 | 18000 |
| 4 | 21600 | 900 | 90 | 486000 | 20250 |
| 5 | 27000 | 1125 | 100 | 540000 | 22500 |
| 6 | 32400 | 1350 | 200 | 1080000 | 45000 |
| 7 | 37800 | 1575 | 300 | 1620000 | 67500 |
| 8 | 43200 | 1800 | 400 | 2160000 | 90000 |
| 9 | 48600 | 2025 | 500 | 2700000 | 112500 |
| 10 | 54000 | 2250 | 600 | 3240000 | 135000 |
| 11 | 59400 | 2475 | 700 | 3780000 | 157500 |
| 12 | 64800 | 2700 | 800 | 4320000 | 180000 |
| 13 | 70200 | 2925 | 900 | 4860000 | 202500 |
| 14 | 75600 | 3150 | 1000 | 5400000 | 225000 |
| 15 | 81000 | 3375 | 2000 | 10800000 | 450000 |
| 16 | 86400 | 3600 | 3000 | 16200000 | 675000 |
| 17 | 91800 | 3825 | 4000 | 21600000 | 900000 |
| 18 | 97200 | 4050 | 5000 | 27000000 | 1125000 |
| 19 | 102600 | 4275 | 6000 | 32400000 | 1350000 |
| 20 | 108000 | 4500 | 7000 | 37800000 | 1575000 |
| 25 | 135000 | 5625 | 8000 | 43200000 | 1800000 |
| 30 | 162000 | 6750 | 9000 | 48600000 | 2025000 |
| 40 | 216000 | 9000 | 10000 | 54000000 | 2250000 |
| 50 | 270000 | 11250 | | | |

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## TABLE XII.

### Grecian Weights reduced to French (and English).

The Attic talent weighed 60 minæ, or 6000 drachmas. We take the weight of the drachma at 79 French grains. With us the gros contains 72 grains, the ounce 8 gros or 576 grains, the marc 8 ounces or 4608 grains, and the pound 2 marcs or 9216 grains.

| Drachmas. | French Weight. Oz. | Gros. | Grains. | Eng. Troy Weight. Oz. | Dwt. | Gr.D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | — | 1 | 7 | — | 2 | 16,9 |
| 2 | — | 2 | 14 | — | 5 | 9,8 |
| 3 | — | 3 | 21 | — | 8 | 2,7 |
| 4 | — | 4 | 28 | — | 10 | 19,6 |
| 5 | — | 5 | 35 | — | 13 | 12,5 |
| 6 | — | 6 | 42 | — | 16 | 5,4 |
| 7 | — | 7 | 49 | — | 18 | 22,3 |
| 8 | 1 | 0 | 56 | 1 | 1 | 15,2 |
| 9 | 1 | 1 | 63 | 1 | 4 | 8,1 |
| 10 | 1 | 2 | 70 | 1 | 7 | 1,0 |
| 11 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 17,9 |
| 12 | 1 | 5 | 12 | 1 | 12 | 10,8 |
| 13 | 1 | 6 | 19 | 1 | 15 | 3,7 |
| 14 | 1 | 7 | 26 | 1 | 17 | 20,6 |
| 15 | 2 | 0 | 33 | 2 | 0 | 13,5 |
| 16 | 2 | 1 | 40 | 2 | 3 | 6,4 |
| 17 | 2 | 2 | 47 | 2 | 5 | 23,3 |
| 18 | 2 | 3 | 54 | 2 | 8 | 16,2 |
| 19 | 2 | 4 | 61 | 2 | 11 | 9,1 |
| 20 | 2 | 5 | 68 | 2 | 14 | 2,0 |
| 21 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 16 | 18,9 |
| 22 | 3 | 0 | 10 | 2 | 19 | 11,8 |
| 23 | 3 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 2 | 4,7 |
| 24 | 3 | 2 | 24 | 3 | 4 | 21,6 |
| 25 | 3 | 3 | 31 | 3 | 7 | 14,5 |
| 26 | 3 | 4 | 38 | 3 | 10 | 7,4 |
| 27 | 3 | 5 | 45 | 3 | 13 | 0,3 |
| 28 | 3 | 6 | 52 | 3 | 15 | 17,2 |
| 29 | 3 | 7 | 59 | 3 | 18 | 10,1 |
| 30 | 4 | 0 | 66 | 4 | 1 | 3,0 |

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| Drachmas. | French Weight. Oz. | Gros. | Grains. | Eng. Troy Weight. Oz. | Dwt. | Gr.D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 19,9 |
| 32 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 12,8 |
| 33 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 4 | 9 | 5,7 |
| 34 | 4 | 5 | 22 | 4 | 11 | 22,6 |
| 35 | 4 | 6 | 29 | 4 | 14 | 15,5 |
| 36 | 4 | 7 | 36 | 4 | 17 | 8,4 |
| 37 | 5 | 0 | 43 | 5 | 0 | 1,3 |
| 38 | 5 | 1 | 50 | 5 | 2 | 18,2 |
| 39 | 5 | 2 | 57 | 5 | 5 | 11,1 |
| 40 | 5 | 3 | 64 | 5 | 8 | 4,0 |
| 41 | 5 | 4 | 71 | 5 | 10 | 20,9 |
| 42 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 13 | 13,8 |
| 43 | 5 | 7 | 13 | 5 | 16 | 6,7 |
| 44 | 6 | 0 | 20 | 5 | 18 | 23,6 |
| 45 | 6 | 1 | 27 | 6 | 1 | 16,5 |
| 46 | 6 | 2 | 34 | 6 | 4 | 9,4 |
| 47 | 6 | 3 | 41 | 6 | 7 | 2,3 |
| 48 | 6 | 4 | 48 | 6 | 9 | 19,2 |
| 49 | 6 | 5 | 55 | 6 | 12 | 12,1 |
| 50 | 6 | 6 | 62 | 6 | 15 | 5,0 |

| Drachmas. | Liv. | Mar. | Oz. | Gros. | Grains. | Lib. | Oz. | Dwt. | Gr. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 60 | — | 1 | 0 | 1 | 60 | — | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| 70 | — | 1 | 1 | 4 | 58 | — | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| 80 | — | 1 | 2 | 7 | 56 | — | 10 | 16 | 8 |
| 90 | — | 1 | 4 | 2 | 54 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 100 (Drach. or one Mina,) | — | 1 | 5 | 5 | 52 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 32 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 20 |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 6 |
| 4 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 64 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 16 |
| 5 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 44 | 5 | 7 | 12 | 2 |
| 6 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 24 | 6 | 9 | 2 | 12 |
| 7 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 22 |
| 8 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 56 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| 9 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 36 | 10 | 1 | 13 | 18 |
| 10 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 16 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| 11 | 9 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 68 | 12 | 4 | 14 | 14 |
| 12 | 10 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 48 | 13 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| 13 | 11 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 28 | 14 | 7 | 15 | 10 |
| 14 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 15 | 9 | 5 | 20 |
| 15 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 60 | 16 | 10 | 16 | 6 |
| 16 | 13 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 40 | 18 | 0 | 6 | 16 |
| 17 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 19 | 1 | 17 | 2 |
| 18 | 15 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 20 | 3 | 7 | 12 |
| 19 | 16 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 52 | 21 | 4 | 17 | 22 |
| 20 | 17 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 32 | 22 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| 21 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 23 | 7 | 18 | 18 |
| 22 | 18 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 64 | 24 | 9 | 9 | 4 |

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| Minæ. | French Weight. Liv. | Mar. | Oz. | Gros. | Grains. | Eng. Troy Weight. Lib. | Oz. | Dwt. | Gr. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | 19 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 44 | 25 | 10 | 19 | 14 |
| 24 | 20 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 24 | 27 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 25 | 21 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 28 | 2 | 0 | 10 |
| 26 | 22 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 56 | 29 | 3 | 10 | 20 |
| 27 | 23 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 36 | 30 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| 28 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 31 | 6 | 11 | 16 |
| 29 | 24 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 68 | 32 | 8 | 2 | 2 |
| 30 | 25 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 48 | 33 | 9 | 12 | 12 |
| 35 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 39 | 5 | 4 | 14 |
| 40 | 34 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 64 | 45 | 0 | 16 | 16 |
| 45 | 38 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 36 | 50 | 8 | 8 | 18 |
| 50 | 42 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 56 | 4 | 0 | 20 |
| 60 (Minæ, or one Tal.) | 51 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 24 | 67 | 7 | 5 | 0 |
| 2 | 102 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 48 | 135 | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| 3 | 154 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 202 | 9 | 15 | 0 |
| 4 | 205 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 24 | 270 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | 257 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 48 | 338 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 6 | 308 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 405 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| 7 | 360 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 24 | 473 | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| 8 | 411 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 48 | 540 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | 462 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 608 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| 10 | 514 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 24 | 676 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 20 | 1028 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 48 | 1352 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 30 | 1542 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 2028 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| 40 | 2057 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 24 | 2704 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 | 2571 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 48 | 3380 | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| 60 | 3085 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 4056 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 70 | 3600 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 24 | 4732 | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| 80 | 4114 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 48 | 5408 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 90 | 4628 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 6084 | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| 100 | 5143 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 24 | 6760 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 500 | 25716 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 48 | 33802 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1000 | 51432 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 24 | 67604 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | 102864 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 48 | 135208 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 3000 | 154296 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 202812 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 4000 | 205729 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 24 | 270416 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 5000 | 257161 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 48 | 338020 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 10000 | 514322 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 24 | 676041 | 8 | 0 | 0 |

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*Empedocles* of Agrigentum, a philoſopher of the Italian ſchool, ii. 153. Admitted four elements, ibid. 169. His ſyſtem, iii. 386. Rendered his country illuſtrious by his laws, and extended philoſophy by his writings; his works, ibid. 385. How far in his opinions he followed Pythagoras, ibid. Diſtinguiſhed two principles in the world, which every where maintain motion and life, ibid. 386. Four principal cauſes influence our actions, ibid. 388. We have two ſouls, from which is derived the ſyſtem of the metempſychoſis, ibid. Different deſtiny of pure and guilty ſouls, ibid. In what manner he deſcribes the torments which he pretended to have himſelf experienced, ibid. 389.

*Enigmas* were in uſe among the Greeks, iv. 321, 378.

*Epaminondas* forcibly defends the rights of Thebes in the aſſembly at Lacedæmon, i. 248. Triumph of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, ibid. 249, 250. After that victory he cauſes Meſſene to be built, ii. 410. In conjunction with Pelopidas carries terror through Peloponneſus, i. 252. His defence, when accuſed of having retained the command of the army beyond the time preſcribed by law, ibid. 254. Dies victor at Mantinea, ibid. 389. He deſtroyed the power of Sparta, iii. 30. Tomb and trophy erected to his memory in the plain of Mantinea, ibid. 70. Three cities diſpute which was the birth-place of the ſoldier from whom he received his mortal wound, ibid. 71. His virtues, his eulogium, i. 240. 247, 249, 285. Note on his character, ibid. 489.

*Epheſus*, the temple there burnt by Heroſtratus iv. 127. Beauty of that edifice, ibid. Statue of Diana, ibid. 128. Note on that ſubject, ibid. 357. The birth-place of Parrhaſius ibid. 130.

*Epheſians* had a very wiſe law relative to the building of public edifices, iv. 128.

*Ephorus*, the diſciple of Iſocrates dedicates his talents to hiſtory, iii. 423, 424. His character, ibid. 424. Judgment on his works, ibid. 427.

*Ephori*, magiſtrates inſtituted at Lacedæmon, to defend the people in caſe of oppreſſion, ii. 461. Note on their inſtitution, ibid. 514.

*Epicharmus* the philoſopher, why he was diſgraced by Hiero, and hated by the other philoſophers, ii. 155. Author of comedies; brought comedy to its perfection in Sicily, iv. 31, 32. His pieces received with the higheſt applauſe by the Athenians, ibid. 32. Authors who imitated him, ibid.

*Epicurus*, the ſon of Neocles and Chereſtrate, was born in one of the latter years of the ſtay of Anacharſis in Greece, iv. 181. note.

*Epidaurus*, a city of Argolis; its ſituation; territory; temple of Æſculapius, iii. 87. Inſcription engraved on the gate of the temple, iv. 302. Its rotunda in the ſacred grove, built by Polycletus, decorated by Pauſes ſurrounded by columns, on which were inſcribed the names of the ſick, who had been cured, their diſeaſes, and the means by which they had been reſtored to health, iii. 89. Its theatre erected by the ſame architect, ibid.

*Epidaurians*, feſtivals which they celebrated in honour of Æſculapius, iii. 89. Were very credulous, ibid. 92.

*Epimenides* of Crete comes to Athens, i. 60. His ſleep, his awaking, ibid. 61. Cauſes new temples to be built at Athens, ibid. Changes the religious ceremonies, ibid. 62. Note relative to, ibid. 480.

*Epirus*, pleaſant proſpects and rich plains of; its ports; produces ſwift horſes, and cows of a prodigious ſize,



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ii. 289. The reigning family in Epirus derived its origin from Pyrrhus, ſon Achilles. One of thoſe princes educated at Athens, poſſeſſed ſufficient greatneſs of mind to ſet bounds to his authority, ibid. 290, 291.

*Epopœia*, or epic poem, is the imitation of an action which is great, circumſcribed by certain limits, intereſting and embelliſhed by marvellous incidents, and the various beauties of poetical language. Frequently the manner of diſpoſing it coſts more labour, and does more honour to the poet, than the compoſition of the verſes, iv. 307. Several ancient poets ſang the war of Troy; others in their poems, omitted none of the exploits of Hercules or Theſeus, which is contrary to the nature of the Epopœia, ibid. 310. The Iliad of Pigres, ibid, 314.

*Eretria*, a city of Eubœa, eulogium of; diſputed the pre-eminence with the city of Chalcis, i. 280.

*Erymanthus*, a mountain of Arcadia, on which the wild boar and ſtag were hunted, iii. 63. The tomb of Alcmæon there, ibid.

*Eteobutadæ* (the), a ſacerdotal family at Athens, ſet apart to the worſhip of Minerva, i. 302.

*Eubœa* (iſland of), its ſituation; its fertility, i. 279. Has hot ſprings; is ſubject to earthquakes, ibid. 278. Was in alliance with the Athenians, ibid. 279.

*Eubulides* the philoſopher of Megara, his manner of reaſoning, ii. 302.

*Euclid* the philoſopher, founder of the ſchool of Megara, ii. 155, 301. Diſguiſed himſelf in a female dreſs to take leſſons of Socrates, ibid. 301. His patience and mildneſs, ibid. 302. Addicts himſelf to the ſubtleties of metaphyſics, ibid.

*Eudoxus* the aſtronomer, a native of Cnidus where the houſe was ſhown which was his obſervatory, iv. 131. Brought from Egypt into Greece the knowledge of the motions of the planets, ii. 191.

*Eumolpidæ* (the), a conſiderable family at Athens, dedicated to the prieſthood of Ceres, i. 301, 472. Exerciſed a juriſdiction in affairs relative to the myſteries, ibid. 473.

*Euphœus*, king of Meſſenia, excites his ſubjects to war, ii. 391. Is ſlain in battle, ibid. 393.

*Euphranor*, painter, i. 226. Publiſhed a treatiſe on ſymmetry and colours, iv. 134.

*Euphron* renders himſelf tyrant of Sicyon; is aſſaſſinated, ii. 322. Ariſtratus after him, ſeizes on the ſupreme power, ibid.

*Eupolemus* of Argos erected a very beautiful temple to Juno, at the diſtance of forty ſtadia from that city, iii. 79. Polycletus ornamented it with ſtatues, among which the principal was that of Juno, ibid.

*Eupolis*, author of comedies, iv. 32, 33.

*Eupompus* founds at Sicyon a ſchool for painting, ii. 325.

*Euripus*, a ſtrait which ſeparates Eubœa from the continent; peculiar ebb and flow of the tide there, i. 282.

*Euripides*, one the greateſt dramatic poets, i. 222. Took leſſons of eloquence under Prodicus, and of philoſophy under Anaxagoras, iv. 17. Was the rival of Sophocles, ibid. An enemy to pleaſantries, ibid. The comic writers endeavour to caſt an odium on his morals, ibid. 18. Toward the cloſe of his life he retired to the court of Archilaus, king of Macedon, ii. 32; iv. 18. He there found Zeuxis, Timotheus, and Agatho, ibid. His anſwer to Archelaus, ibid. His death, ibid. Archelaus cauſes a magnificent tomb to be erected to him, ibid. 19. At Salamis, his native place, was ſhown a grotto in which it was ſaid he had compoſed the greater part of his pieces, ibid. His cenotaph at Athens, i. 366; iv. 19. Note on the number of his pieces, iv. 349. Was accuſed of having degraded the characters of the ancient Greeks, by ſometimes repreſenting princeſſes inflamed with a criminal paſſion, and ſometimes kings overwhelmed with calamity, and clothed in rags, ibid. 21. Propoſed to render tragedy the ſchool of wiſdom, and was conſidered as the philoſopher of the ſtage, ibid. 22. His pieces abound in ſentences and reflections, ibid. 23. His eloquence ſometimes degenerates into vain declamation, ibid. 24. Capable of moving the paſſions at will, he ſometimes riſes to the true ſublime, ibid. 22. He fixed the language of tragedy; in his enchanting ſtyle the feebleneſs of the thought ſeems to

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diſappear, and the moſt common word to become ennobled, ibid. 24. He made eaſy verſes with great labour, ibid. He made uſe of thoſe harmonies, the ſweetneſs and delicacy of which beſt accorded with the character of his poetry, ibid. 25. He rarely ſucceeded ſo well in the diſpoſition as the expoſition of his ſubject, ibid. 26. But the unravellings of his plots almoſt always produce the greateſt effect, ibid. 28. His ſarcaſms against women, ibid. 96. His enigmatical deſcription of the name of Theſeus, ibid. 97. Anſwer which he returned to the audience in the theatre at Athens, when they wiſhed him to retrench an expreſſion at which they were diſpleaſed, ibid. 95.

*Eurotas*, a river of Laconia, ii. 419. Traverſes that country through its whole extent, ibid. 425. Is covered with ſwans, and produces reeds in great eſtimation, ibid.

*Eurybiades* the Spartan, commanded the Grecian fleet at the battle of Salamis, i. 123. 124.

*Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, deſcendants of Hercules, poſſeſſed themſelves of Laconia, ii. 445.

*Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes* betray Olynthus to Philip, iii. 268. Periſh miſerably, ibid. 270.

*Exerciſes* practiſed in the Gymnaſia, i. 320.

*Exile*. See *Puniſhments*.

*Expiation*, ceremonies of, when homicide has been committed, i. 36.

F.

*FABLE*. Manner of diſpoſing the action of a poem, iv. 307. In tragedy there are ſimple and complex fables; the latter preferable, ibid. 84, 85. Fable or apologue. Socrates put ſome of the fables of Æſop into verſe, ii. 154.

*Families* diſtinguiſhed at Athens: thoſe of the Eumolpidæ, Eteobutadæ, and Pallantides. See thoſe words.

*Fatality*, origin of that doctrine, iv. 78. In ſeveral tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides had no influence on the progreſs of the action, ibid.

*Fathers*, authority of, at Athens, i. 72, 481.

*Farm*, account of an Athenian, iii. 187. Note on its produce, ibid. 498.

*Feſtivals* at Amyclæ, in honour of Hyacinth. See *Hyacinth*. At Argos, in honour of Juno. See *Juno*. Of the Athenians, ii. 36. Some commemorated the events moſt glorious to the city, ibid. Annually deprived induſtry and ruſtic labours of more than eighty days, ibid. 37. Deſcription of the Panathenæa, in honour of Minerva, ibid. 39. Of the greater Dionyſia, in honour of Bacchus, ibid. 43. Each town and borough of Attica had its particular feſtivals and games, iii. 184. Feſtivals of Delos. See *Delos*. Of Eleuſis, iii. 472. Of Epidaurus, in honour of Æſculapius, iii. 89. Of the Hermionians, in honour of Ceres, ibid. 85. Of Naxos, in honour of Bacchus, iv. 236. Of the Platæans, ii. 231, 232. Of Sicyon by torch-light, ibid. 319. Of the Theſſalians, ibid. 286.

*Fiction*, an eſſential part of poetry, iv. 307.

*Figs* of Athens excellent; ſome carried to Perſia, for the table of the king, ii. 56. Thoſe of Naxos equally celebrated, iv. 236.

*Fiſh* emigrate like birds, iii. 404, 405.

*Fiſhing*, different manners of, at Samos. Fiſhery for tunny, iv. 180, 181.

*Flowers* carefully cultivated by the Athenians, who made great uſe of them, iii. 186, 187.

*Flute*, female players on the, at the Athenian entertainments, ii. 66.

*Friendſhip*; its character and advantages, iv. 276, 277. The Greeks never erected temples to Friendſhip, ibid. 158. But they conſecrated altars to it, i. 375. Remark of Ariſtotle concerning friendſhip, iii. 274, 275. Of Pythagoras on the ſame ſubject, iv. 198.

*Frontiers* of Attica defended by places of ſtrength, iii. 199.

*Funerals*; games exhibited at them, to which all the heroes repaired, i. 35. Ceremonies at the funerals of thoſe who were killed fighting for their country, i. 390. See *Dead*.

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*GAMES* of combinations, in which children were exerciſed, ii. 83. Note on thoſe games, ibid. 491. Games of draughts, oſſelets, dice, and other games in uſe among the Athenians, i. 438, 439. Iſthmian games, ii. 305. Nemean games; their inſtitution, i.

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23. Olympian games, ii. 336. Pythian games, ii. 2.

*Gelon*, king of Syracuſe, refuſes to join the Greeks againſt Xerxes, and is on the point of ſubmitting to that monarch, i. 121. Repreſented in a brazen chariot at Olympia, ii. 344.

*Genealogies*; ſome Athenians forged them, though they were of no great advantage to them, i. 301.

*Genii*, four principal claſſes of, iii. 407, 408. Genius of Polites, how appeaſed at Temeſa, ibid. 414. Genius of Socrates, ibid. 448.

*God* and *Divine*; different acceptations of thoſe words in ancient authors, iv. 293. Difficulty occaſioned by this abuſe, in underſtanding the ſyſtems of thoſe authors, ibid. 368, 369. The name of God employed by the ſame philoſophers, ſometimes in the ſingular, and ſometimes in the plural, ibid. 365, 369. His exiſtence, unity, providence, and the worſhip ſuitable to him.—See the whole of chap. lxxix. and the notes in elucidation.

*Gods*, in what manner anciently repreſented, iv. 169. What was ſignified by their birth, marriages, and death, ibid. 171.

*Gomphi*, a town of Theſſaly, at the foot of Pindus, ii. 288.

*Gonnus*, a town of Theſſaly, of great importance, from its ſituation, ii. 281, 282.

*Gorgias*, the celebrated rhetorician, ſent ambaſſador to Athens, by the inhabitants of Leontium. His ſplendid ſucceſs at Athens, in Theſſaly, and throughout all Greece. A ſtatue erected to him in the temple at Delphi, iii. 151. His remark on the dialogue of Plato, which bears his name, ibid. 153.

*Gortyna*, a city of Crete; its ſituation; iv. 147. Puniſhment inflicted there on a man convicted of adultery, ibid. Cavern, which is ſaid to be the labyrinth, ibid.

*Gortyniur*, a river of Arcadia, the waters of which always preſerve the ſame temperature, iii. 62.

*Gortys*, a city of Arcadia, iii. 61.

*Government*; what form of it the beſt. A number of writers among the Greeks have endeavoured to reſolve this problem, iii. 114. The republic of Plato, ibid. 94. Opinions of Ariſtotle, and ſeveral other philoſophers, ibid. 320. Note on the method which he has followed, ibid. 501. In Greece there were not two ſtates, nor even two cities, that had the ſame legiſlation, or the ſame form of government. Every where the conſtitution inclined toward the deſpotiſm of the principal citizens, or toward that of the multitude, ibid. 330. A conſtitution without defect could not be carried into execution, or would not be ſuitable to all ſtates, ibid. 343, 344. Two kinds of government; thoſe in which public utility is the great object, as the limited monarchy, the ariſtocracy, and the republic, properly ſo called; and thoſe in which it is held of no account, as the tyranny, the oligarchy, and the democracy; which are only corruptions of the three preceding forms of government, ibid. 324. The conſtitution may be excellent, whether the ſupreme authority be confided to a ſingle perſon, be exerciſed by many, or reſide ſolely in the people, ibid. Principles of each government. In monarchy, honour; in the tyranny, the ſafety of the tyrant; in the ariſtocracy, virtue; in the oligarchy, riches; in a republic wiſely conſtituted, liberty: in the democracy, this liberty degenerates into licentiouſneſs, ibid. 341. Numerous and frequent cauſes, which in the republics of Greece have ſhaken or overturned the conſtitution, ibid. 338. In a good government, there ſhould be a wiſe diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, i. 65, 66. One of the beſt forms of government is the mixed, or that in which royalty, ariſtocracy, and democracy are combined by the laws, which reſtore the balance of power as often as it inclines too much toward one or other of theſe forms, iii. 355. Excellent law of Solon's—In times of public commotion, each citizen ſhall declare for one of the parties. The object of this law was to prevent the good and virtuous part of the community from continuing in a ſtate of fatal inactivity, i. 70.

*Monarchy*, or *Royalty* (ſeveral kinds of); the moſt perfect is that in which the ſovereign exerciſes in his ſtates the ſame authority as a father in the midſt of his family, iii. 325, 326. The Greek philoſo-

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phers have highly extolled this conſtitution, iii. 354. Its advantages; ſuch as the uniformity of principles, the ſecrecy of enterpriſes, and the promptneſs of their execution, ibid. What are the prerogatives of the ſovereign, ibid. 325, 326. What his duties. Honour ſhould be the motive of his undertakings; and the love of his people, and the ſafety of his ſtates, their reward, ibid. 326.

*Tyranny* is a corrupted and degenerated monarchy; the ſovereign only reigns by the fear which he inſpires, and his perſonal ſafety muſt be the only object of his attention, ibid. 327. Odious means to which many tyrants have had recourſe, to maintain their authority, ibid. 328. Thoſe of Sicyon and Corinth preſerved their authority by acquiring the eſteem and confidence of the people; ſome by their military talents, others by their affability; and others by the reſpect which on certain occaſions they paid to the laws, ibid. 329.

*Ariſtocracy*, iii. 330. The beſt, that in which the authority is committed to a certain number of enlightened and virtuous magiſtrates, ibid. 330, 331. Political virtue, or the love of the public good, is the principle of this form of government; and the conſtitution is more or leſs excellent, according as this principle has a greater or leſs influence in the choice of magiſtrates, ibid. 332. To render it durable, it ſhould be ſo tempered that the principal citizens ſhould find in it the advantages of the oligarchy, and the people thoſe of the democracy, ibid. 331. When this conſtitution is in danger, ibid. 332.

*Oligarchy* is an imperfect ariſtocracy, in which the whole authority is confided to a ſmall number of rich citizens: in it riches are preferred to every thing, and the deſire of acquiring them is the principle of the government, ibid. 332, 333. Precautions neceſſary to eſtabliſh and preſerve the beſt form of the oligarchy, ibid. 334. Cauſes by which it is deſtroyed, ibid. 335.

*Republic*, properly ſo called, would be the beſt of governments. The rich and the poor would in that find the advantages of the conſtitution they prefer, without having to fear the inconveniencies of that which they reject, ibid. 349.

*Democracy*, the corruption of the true republic, according to Ariſtotle; is ſubject to the ſame revolutions as the ariſtocracy; is properly attempered when care is taken to remove from the adminiſtration of government, an ignorant and reſtleſs populace; and is tyrannical when the poorer claſs of citizens have too great influence in the public deliberations, ibid. 337. It is eſſential to the democracy, that the offices of magiſtracy ſhould only be granted for a time; and that thoſe at leaſt, which require only a certain degree of abilities, ſhould be beſtowed by way of lot, ibid. 337. Its inconveniencies and dangers, i. 399, 400, 411.

*Government of Athens*, as it was eſtabliſhed by Solon. Three eſſential objects in it; the aſſembly of the people, the choice of magiſtrates, and the tribunals of juſtice, i. 66, 70. Civil and criminal laws, ibid. 70, 80. Were to remain in force only during a century, ibid. 80. Reflections on the legiſlation of Solon, ibid. 89. He choſe the popular government; but tempered it in ſuch a manner, that he believed he had compriſed in it many advantages of the oligarchy, the ariſtocracy, and the democracy, ibid. 91. The whole authority was veſted in the people; but all their decrees muſt be preceded by decrees of the ſenate, ibid. 398, 399. Changes made in the conſtitution by Cliſthenes, ibid. 92. Government of Athens in the time of Demoſthenes, ibid. 391. The ſenate, ibid. 392. The aſſemblies of the people, ibid. 394. The public orators, ibid. 400. The magiſtrates; as the archons, the ſtrategi, &c. ibid. 413. The tribunals of juſtice, ibid. 417. The Areopagus, ibid. 412.

*Government of Lacedæmon*; Lycurgus had ſo conſtituted it, that it was a judicious mixture of royalty, ariſtocracy, and democracy. The authority which the ephori afterward aſ-

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ſumed, made the conſtitution incline toward the oligarchy, ii. 450, 451. The two kings enjoyed great privileges, as the heads of religion, the adminiſtration, and the armies, ibid. 455. When they aſcended the throne, they might annul the debts contracted either with their predeceſſors, or with the ſtate, ibid. The ſenate, compoſed of twenty-eight ſenators, and in which the two kings preſided, was the ſupreme council of the nation; in it all important affairs of ſtate were diſcuſſed, ibid. 459. In what manner the ſenators were elected; and what were their functions, ibid. 460. The ephori, in number five, extended their care to every part of the adminiſtration, and ſuperintended the education of youth, and the conduct of all the citizens, ibid. 461. The people, by whom they were choſen, conſidered them as their defenders, and continually increaſed their prerogatives, ibid. 462. They long ſtruggled againſt the authority of the kings and ſenators; and never ceaſed to be their enemies, till they became their protectors, ibid. 466. Note on their inſtitution, ibid. 514. Aſſemblies of the people: of theſe there were two kinds; the one, compoſed only of Spartans, regulated the ſucceſſion to the throne, elected or depoſed the magiſtrates, gave judgment on public crimes, and decided on the great objects of religion and legiſlation, ibid. 466. Into the other were admitted the deputies of the cities of Laconia, and ſometimes thoſe of the allied ſtates, and the nations which ſolicited the ſuccours of Lacedæmon. In this were diſcuſſed the intereſts of the Peloponneſian league, ibid. 467. General ideas on the legiſlation of Lycurgus, ibid. 434. Defence of his laws, and cauſes of their decline, ibid. iii. 30.

*Government of Crete* deſerving of eulogium, iii. 339. Served as a model to Lycurgus, who adopted many of its laws, ibid. 31. Why the Cretans ſooner degenerated from their inſtitutions, than the Spartans, iv. 151.

*Government of Carthage*; its conformity with thoſe of Crete and Lacedæmon, iii. 332, 339. Its advantages and defects, 340.

*Greece*, ſuperfices of, eſtimated in ſquare ſtadia, i. 98. Its hiſtory from the moſt ancient times to the taking of Athens, in the year 404 before Chriſt (ſee the introduction); from the latter æra to the battle of Leuctra, in 372.—See Chap. I. Its diſputes and wars with Philip, to the battle of Chæronea, in 338.—See Chap. LXI. and LXXXII. Table of the principal epochas of the Grecian hiſtory, from the foundation of the kingdom of Argos to the reign of Alexander, iv. tab. 1. p. 383.

*Griphi*, a general term under which were included enigmas, logogriphs, acroſtics, &c. iv. 321, 378.

*Guard*, Scythian, at Athens, i. 449.

*Gyaros*, one of the Cyclades, a ſmall iſland ſurrounded with rocks, iv. 221.

*Gymnaſia* of Athens, three; that of the Academy, the Lycæum, and the Cynoſarges; their deſcription, i. 318.

*Gymnaſiarch*, a magiſtrate who preſided in the gymnaſia, and had under him ſeveral officers, ibid. 319.

*Gythium*, a ſtrong town and excellent harbour of Laconia, ii. 419.

## H.

*HALICARNASSUS*, the native place of Herodotus, iv. 130. Its forum adorned with the tomb of Mauſolus, and other beautiful edifices, iii. 247.

*Happineſs*. The opinions of men divided concerning it, iv. 257. Some are indebted for it to natural diſpoſition, others may acquire it by aſſiduous labour, ibid. 260. In what it ought to conſiſt, ibid.; ii. 97, 98.

*Harmodius* and Ariſtogiton revenge themſelves on the ſons of Piſiſtratus for an affront they had received, i. 86. Honours which were rendered to them, ibid. 87. Note on the ſong of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, ibid. 481.

*Heavenly Bodies*, the knowledge of their courſe and revolutions firſt communicated to the Greeks by the Egyptians and Chaldæans, ii. 191, 192.

*Hecataeus* of Miletus, the hiſtorian, one of the firſt who wrote in proſe, i. 227. Travelled into Egypt, and other countries, before his time unknown to the Greeks, iii. 417.

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*Hegelochus* the actor, anecdote of, iv. 99. Note on, ibid. 357.
*Heliaſtæ* (tribunal of the) one of the principal in Athens, i. 408.
*Helice*, a city of Achaia, deſtroyed by an earthquake, ii. 328.
*Helicon*, a mountain of Bœotia, on which the Muſes were eſpecially honoured, ii. 235.
*Helleſpont*, cities of the, i. 262. Place where it was paſſed by Xerxes with his army, ibid. 263.
*Helots*, at Sparta, were in a middle ſtate between ſlaves and freemen, ii. 431. Were treated with rigour, but enjoyed real advantages, ibid. 431, 432. Might merit their freedom, and be raiſed to the rank of citizens, ibid. 432. Often revolted, ibid. 433. How treated by the Spartans, ibid. See *Cryptia*.
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*Hercules*, one of the Argonauts, and the firſt of the demigods, i. 11. His labours and achievements; idea which we ſhould form of them, ibid. 11, 12.
*Hermione*, a city near the extremity of Argolis, iii. 85. Feſtivals of Ceres celebrated there, ibid.
*Herodotus*, born at Halicarnaſſus in Caria, after having travelled into ſeveral countries, ended his days in a city of Magna Græcia. His general hiſtory, read in the aſſembly of the Olympic games, and afterward in that of the Athenians, was received with univerſal applauſe. His eulogium, iii. 418, 419.
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*Hipparchs*, generals of the cavalry among the Athenians, i. 346.
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*Hippodromus*, the place for the horſe and chariot races, ii. 21.
*Hippomedon*, one of the chiefs in the war of Thebes, i. 23.
*Hiſtiæus*, whom Darius king of Perſia had appointed governor of Miletus, refuſes to abandon his guard of the bridge over the Iſter, and thus ſaves that monarch and his army, i. 103.

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*Leaping*, exerciſe of, at the Olympic games, ii. 366.

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*Leſche*, the name given to thoſe porticos in which the people met to converſe, or diſcourſe on public affairs. That of Delphi was embelliſhed with the paintings of Polygnotus, ii. 23.

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*Leuctra*, a town of Bœotia, where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans, ii. 233.

*Leutychides*, king of Sparta, vanquiſhes the Perſians near Mycale in Ionia, i. 160.

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*Lycæus,* a mountain of Arcadia, from whence almost the whole of Peloponnesus may be seen, iii. 59. A temple of Pan on that mountain, ibid.

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———, tyrant of Pheræ, endeavours to enslave the Thessalians. They call Philip to their succour, iii. 240, 241.

*Lycosura,* a town at the foot of Mount Lycæus, in Arcadia, iii. 58. Fabulous traditions of the inhabitants, ibid. 59.

*Lycurgus,* orator of Athens, the disciple of Plato, i. 309.

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END OF VOL. IV.

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# MAPS, PLANS,

## VIEWS AND COINS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

# TRAVELS

OF

## ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

# *GREECE,*

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

---

*LONDON:*

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M.DCC.XCVI.

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# CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

# MAPS OF ANCIENT GREECE;

COMPILED

FOR THE TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER,

BY M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE.

IN geography, when a map is copied from another map, the imitation ſhould be candidly avowed; and when it differs eſſentially from all other maps of the ſame country, the authorities on which ſuch difference is founded ſhould be aſſigned. In compliance with this principle, I ſhall proceed to explain, as ſuccinctly as poſſible, the guides I have followed, and the reaſons by which I have been influenced, in compiling the maps of Ancient Greece, which accompany the Travels of Anacharſis.

In this examination I ſhall not include the particular plans, becauſe each of them would furniſh matter for one, or even for more than one memoir. I muſt however acknowledge, that thoſe of the battles of Salamis and Platæa would have been very imperfect, if the Count de la Luzerne, the preſent miniſter for naval affairs, had not been ſo obliging as to favour me with his advice, and read the ancient authors with my drawings before him. I am likewiſe indebted to the Count de Choiſeul-Gouffier, for his generous communications of all the plans and ſurveys he had taken in the country; and it is certain that the moſt accurate of my maps are thoſe which are laid down after his plans. They are almoſt all by M. Foucherot, engineer for bridges and cauſeways *, who not only put into my hands

* Ingénieur des ponts et chauſſées.



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his drawings and manuſcript journals, but has alſo deſcribed to me, as diſtinctly as poſſible, the parts of his route where he had not time to take obſervations, and which were neceſſary to my deſign. The geographical collection for foreign affairs, in which the late Count de Vergennes permitted me to make reſearches, has alſo furniſhed me with a number of other plans of ports and iſlands; and I have found in the library of the king, though not the entire voyage of the Abbé Fourmont, yet at leaſt ſeveral fragments of it, of which I have made every poſſible uſe.

The heirs of the late M. D'Anville have alſo communicated to me the notes of that celebrated geographer, to whom the ſcience of geography is ſo much indebted, and whoſe very errors are reſpectable, ſince they only prove the imperfection of geographical knowledge at the time when he compiled his maps. I have alſo found in ſome geographical manuſcripts of the late M. Freret, well known for his profound erudition, digeſted extracts from the Portulans * which I ſhall frequently have occaſion to cite. It now only remains for me to ſpeak of a work on geography, in modern Greek, by Meletius, archbiſhop of Athens, and a native of Joannina in Epirus, written about the end of the laſt century, and printed at Venice, in 1728, in one volume folio. I have made uſe of it in ſeveral inſtances, for the northern parts of Greece; but I could not for the Peloponneſus, becauſe the maps of that peninſula were already engraved before this work fell into my hands. I muſt likewiſe add that, if my maps are leſs imperfect than thoſe which have preceded them, they are indebted for a part of their merit to the author of the Travels of Anacharſis, who has aſſiſted me in my enquiries, and diſcuſſed with me ſeveral eſſential points.

I likewiſe ſhall not include in this examination the chart of the Palus Mæotis and Pontus Euxinus, becauſe time and events having furniſhed us with a conſiderable acceſſion to our knowledge of thoſe places ſince it has been completed, it would be neceſſary to lay it down entirely anew. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to the general map of Greece, and the particular maps of each of its provinces.

I have made uſe of all the aſtronomical obſervations that I have been able to procure, when I have found them accurate; and, in defect of theſe, have had recourſe to the diſtances given by the ancients and moderns. But it will be firſt neceſſary to give an account of the meaſures I have employed.

In all the maps, I have uſed, for the comparative ſcale, the common French leagues of 2500 toiſes, becauſe they have appeared to me in general to correſpond very nearly with the hour's journey employed by travellers in theſe countries. The Olympian ſtadium, which in my maps I eſtimate at 94 toiſes 5 feet, is deduced from the

* Collections of charts, ſurveys and deſcriptions of different ports, roads, &c.

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length which M. Le Roi assigns to the Grecian foot [a]. As to the Pythian stadium, it is that which M. D'Anville has before used, and which he fixes at one tenth part of the Roman mile, or four fifths of the Olympian stadium [b]. I have named it Pythian, because it appears to me to have been principally in use in the north of Greece; and because, according to the remark of Spon [c], the stadium which still exists at Delphi is shorter than that of Athens. By the measures which we have of the latter, it appears that it was of the length, or nearly so, of the Olympian stadium. It is true that Censorinus [d], when comparing the stadia which he calls Italian, Olympian and Pythian, makes the latter consist of 1000 feet; while the first, according to him, only contains 625, and the second 600. But Aulus Gellius, who wrote in Greece, expressly says [e] that the Olympian was the longest of all the stadia; and, besides, M. D'Anville [f], and before him Lucas Poetus, have already remarked that Censorinus here distinguishes the Italian from the Olympian stadium, only from not knowing the difference of the feet of which they were composed, and that 625 Roman feet are equal to 600 Grecian Olympian feet. We cannot therefore rely on the measure of the Pythian stadium of Censorinus. Yet if we take the 1000 feet for the measure of the diaulus, or double stadium, we shall still have, for the length of the Pythian stadium, 500 feet, which are exactly four fifths of 625 Roman feet. However this may be, the Pythian stadium, being shorter by one fifth than the Olympian stadium, must be equal to 75 toises, 5 feet, 2 inches, $4\frac{2}{3}$ lines, French measure, or, to avoid fractions, 76 toises (161 yards, 2 feet, Eng.), as it has been estimated by M. D'Anville [g].

I have sometimes made use of a still shorter stadium, or that which M. D'Anville calls the Macedonian, or Egyptian [h], and which he estimates, in several places, from fifty toises to fifty-four, or even more.

The projection of the general map is on the hypothesis which considers the earth as a plane; at least the diminution of the degrees of longitude is calculated from the table at the end of the Supplements to the Astronomy of M. de la Lande [i]; for the difference between this hypothesis and that of the spherical figure of the earth is almost insensible on the scale that I have chosen. The meridians being right lines on my map, their intervals have been ascertained by the tangents of the parallels 36 and 40; and I have always taken the degree of latitude at 57000 toises, in round numbers, as it has been estimated in the table of M. Schulze [k], for the latitude of 39 degrees.

[a] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. i. p. 32.
[b] D'Anville, Trait. des Mes. Itin.
[c] Spon, Voyag. t. ii. p. 38.
[d] Censor. de Die Nat. cap. 13.
[e] Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 1, cap. 1.
[f] D'Anville, Trait. des Mes. Itin. p. 14 et 79.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 71.
[h] Id. Eclaircis. Geogr. sur l'Anc. Gaule, p. 162; Trait. des Mes. Itin. p. 93.
[i] De la Lande, Astronom. t. iv. p. 770.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 777.



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It is not neceſſary to mention that the curvature of the parallels has been determined and laid down on each meridian from the difference of the ſecant and the radius; but it may be proper to remark that, if the parallels are right lines on the particular maps, it is becauſe it would otherwiſe have been very difficult to lay down the different bearings of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more preſently; and becauſe, beſides, the curvature would have been ſcarcely perceivable. I have likewiſe not marked the longitude on the particular maps; becauſe, having no obſervation relative to it through the whole extent of country which they repreſent, it would have been neceſſary at leaſt to reach Salonichi, from which it muſt have been computed.

The general map, on the contrary, is ſupported by ſeveral obſervations of longitude and latitude. The poſition of Conſtantinople, formerly Byzantium, is taken from the *Connoiſſance des Temps* for the the year 1788; and the latitude and longitude of Salonichi, formerly Therma, at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf; of Smyrna, on the coaſt of Aſia; and Candia and Canea, in the iſland of Crete, have been obſerved by father Feuillée. M. De Chazelles has given us the latitude of Rhodes, and other navigators have furniſhed me with that of ſeveral of the iſlands of the Archipelago.

I have not been able to make uſe of the obſervation of father Feuillée at Milo, becauſe it appears to me erroneous. M. D'Anville had before judged it to be ſo, ſince the longitude which he aſſigns to that iſland in his maps differs by about twenty minutes from that of father Feuillée. The longitude of Melos in my map is almoſt the ſame with that in which it is laid down by M. D'Anville.

The particular maps have for their baſis; 1. The obſervations of latitude taken by Vernon at Athens, Negropont, or Chalcis, in Eubœa, and Sparta. 2. Two obſervations of latitude which I found in the papers of M. Freret. They were taken by M. De Chazelles, one in the port of the iſland of Zante, or Zacynthus, and the other to the ſouth of Cape Matapan, or Tænarum, directly weſt of the moſt ſouthern point of the iſland of Cythera. 3. The latitude of Volo, formerly Pagaſæ, at the bottom of the Pagaſitic Gulf, in Theſſaly, given by Dapper, though I know not whence he obtained it. 4. That of Corfu, from the tables of Riccioli and Pimentel. 5. That of Durazzo, or Epidamnus, in Illyricum, according to the table of Philip Lanſberge. And, 6. The latitude and longitude of Salonichi, to which I have had recourſe to determine the longitude of all Greece in the general map.

The latitude of Athens, from which I have taken my departure for all my particular maps, according to the obſervations of Vernon[l], is 38° 5′. M. D'Anville mentions another obſervation, which places that city in 38° 4′ only[m]; but as I have not found it among his papers, I have followed that of Vernon.

[l] Journal de Vernon, à la ſuite de la Reponſe de Spon à la Critique de Guillet, p. 302.

[m] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce.

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I have adjuſted to the poſition of Athens the plan of the bay and iſle of Couſouri, which was taken by M. Foucherot in 1781, and which I have accurately copied in my plan of the battle of Salamis. I have alſo adjuſted to the ſame poſition a manuſcript map of the gulf of Engia, taken by the marquis de Chabert, in 1776. This map has likewiſe given me the figure of all the iſlands of the Saronic Sea, the point of Cape Scyllæum, and even the poſition of the Acro-corinthus. The bearing of the promontory of Sunium from the ſummit of the mountain in Ægina, does not, indeed, accord with that given by Wheler [n]; but the poſition of the Acro-corinthus is alſo in this map more ſoutherly than that of Athens, by about four thouſand one hundred and fifty toiſes, or a little more than four minutes of latitude, preciſely as I found it in 1782. I have aſcertained this poſition entirely from comparing and combining the bearings given by Wheler of Athens and Mount Hymettus, from the Acro-corinthus [o], and of the Aero-corinthus from Mount Hymettus [p]; for I then had not ſeen the map of M. De Chabert. The latitude of Corinth therefore cannot be, as the obſervation of Vernon makes it, 38° 14′ [q]; but muſt be about 38° 1′ 30″, as it is laid down in my maps.

The ſituation of Corinth thus determined, I have adjuſted to its poſition a map of the Iſthmus, taken geometrically by the Venetians in 1697, of which an engraving has been given by Bellin, in his deſcription of the gulf of Venice and the Morea [r]. This map, which is conſtructed with great care, has enabled me to aſſign with ſufficient accuracy the ſituation of the promontory Olmiæ, though it is not found in it. Wheler has obſerved that this promontory bears north-north-eaſt of the Acro-corinthus [s]; and Livy ſays that a temple of Juno Acræa, built on this promontory, was only about ſeven Roman miles diſtant from Corinth [t].

Between Corinth and Argos, the ancients, according to Strabo, reckoned two hundred ſtadia [u]; and, at preſent, about eight or nine hours are required to go, by the ſhorteſt road [x], from Corinth to Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, which is but a little farther than Argos. In my maps, the diſtance between Corinth and Argos, in a right line, is one hundred and eighty Olympian ſtadia, and about ſeven hours and one third, of twenty-five hundred toiſes each, between Corinth and Nauplia.

Argos has always been placed in the maps almoſt due ſouth of Corinth; but the ſituation of the ſouthern coaſt of Argolis, and in par-

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[n] Wheler's Journey, book vi. p. 449.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 443.
[p] Id. ibid p. 410.
[q] Journal de Vernon, p. 302.
[r] Bellin, Deſcript. du Golfe de Ven. pl. xlviii. p. 230.
[s] Wheler's Journey, book vi. p. 443.
[t] Liv. lib. 32, cap. 23.
[u] Strab. lib 8, p. 377.
[x] Pocock, t. iii. p. 175. Foucherot, Voyag. Manuſcr.

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ticular the position of the isle of Hydræa, has obliged me to lay it down much more to the west. The citadel of Argos, Nauplia, or Napoli, and Tiryns, at present Old Napoli, are laid down from observations, taken on the spot by M. Foucherot, from two different stations; first, on coming out of a defile near Mycenæ, and afterwards from the city of Argos itself. From the latter station M. Foucherot has also observed the bearing of that part of the coast of Laconia which advances most to the east. All these observations have been taken according to the north indicated by the compass; but I have rectified them to the true meridian, by allowing for the variation of the needle 13° 15′ towards the west, which was found to be its variation in these countries, by M. De Chabert, in 1776.

To the situation of Nauplia, or Napoli, I have adjusted two manuscript charts taken, in 1735, by the late M. Verguin, engineer in the naval service. They have furnished me with the coast and islands of Argolis, from the confines of Laconia to Cape Acra. I shall say nothing of the merit of these charts, but content myself with referring to M. D'Anville [y], who did not make use of them till he had ascertained their accuracy. Some observations that have been taken of the bearings of the neighbouring places from Cape Acra, and the islands Tiparenus and Aristera, now the isles of Especi and Especi-Poulo, have given me the position of Mount Buporthmos, and the islands Aperopia and Hydræa. These observations, which I have found among the papers of M. Freret, have appeared to me to be by M. Verguin, which has induced me to make use of them with confidence. The figure of these islands, and that of the coast opposite to Scyllæum, are taken from another manuscript chart, drawn by the pilot Vidal, in 1735, which I have compared with that of this same coast, given by Desmouceaux [z].

The situation of Hermione, now Castri, is likewise ascertained by its distance from Troezen, or Damala. M. Fourmont says [a], that he employed four or five hours in going from one of these places to the other. That of the island Hydræa is also given by the observation of Tournefort [b], of its bearing from his station in the island of Zia, formerly Ceos; and the latter is laid down from its distance from the promontory of Sunium, and from the bearings observed by Wheler from that promontory [c], which extend to Anti-Milo.

Leaving Argos, Pliny has enabled me to determine the breadth of Peloponnesus. He says that the distance from Argos to Olympia, crossing Arcadia, is sixty-eight Roman miles [d]. I have taken these in a right line; because, after having considered the road which

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[y] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce.

[z] Extrait du Voyage de Desmouceaux à la suite du Voyage de Corn. le Bruyn, t. v. p. 416.

[a] Fourmont, Voyag. Manuscr. de l'Argolide.

[b] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 341.

[c] Wheler's Journey, book vi. p. 449.

[d] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 6, t. i. p. 196.

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paſſes through Megalopolis, I have found that it does not depart much from a right line, and yet gives a conſiderably greater diſtance. In fact, the table of Peutinger[e] gives twelve miles from Olympia to Melænæ, twenty-two from Melænæ to Megalopolis, and twenty from Megalopolis to Tegea. From Tegea to Argos the diſtance is wanting; but this is eaſily ſupplied from modern travellers. M. Foucherot[f] reckons ten hours journey between Napoli di Romania and Tripolizza; and we ſhall be convinced that the latter town is near the place where Tegea ſtood, if, with the abbé Fourmont, we find the ſite of Tegea in Palæo-Tripolizza, or Old Tripolizza. We may therefore reckon eighty-ſeven or eighty-eight Roman miles from Olympia to Argos, or Nauplia, paſſing through Megalopolis; and thus the reduction of the diſtance to ſixty-eight in a right line will ſtill be very great.

Tripolizza is at preſent the capital of the Morea, or Peloponneſus, and the reſidence of a pacha, or mouhaſil, who is governor of the whole country. It is a modern town; but Leondari is not the ancient Megalopolis, as has been hitherto ſuppoſed, on the authority of M. De Fourmont[g]. Leondari is built on the declivity of Mount Taygetus, and Megalopolis was ſituated in the plain beyond the Alpheus. I am therefore inclined to believe that the ſite of the latter city is at the place called Sinano, which M. Fourmont has taken, without ſufficient proof, for the ancient Mantinea[h]; and within the extenſive circuit of which he ſays there are many ruins[i]. Leondari is probably the ancient Leuctra mentioned in Xenophon[k], which ſhut in one of the entrances of Laconia. Olympia ſubſiſts in a ſmall place now called Miraca. Mr. Chandler and M. Foucherot[l] found there but few ruins; but M. Fauvel, who accompanied M. Foucherot, has been more ſucceſsful in a ſecond journey, which he made in 1787, by order of the count de Choiſeul-Gouffier. He then diſcovered the hippodrome, the ſtadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter; ſo that we ſhall ſoon be in poſſeſſion of the exact dimenſions of all theſe relics of antiquity.

To place Olympia in my maps, its diſtance from Argos, however, was not ſufficient; it was neceſſary alſo to obtain its latitude. This has been deduced from that of Zante, or Zacynthus, in the iſland of the ſame name; obſerved, as I have already ſaid, by M. de Chazelles; which obſervation, taken in the harbour, directly to the eaſt of the caſtle[m], fixes the latitude of Zante at 37° 46′ 32″.

The road of Zante, from the city to Cape Baſilico, the eaſtern

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[e] Peuting. Tab. ſegm. 7, edit. Scheyb. Vindob. 1753, in fol.

[f] Foucherot, Voyag. Manuſcr.

[g] Fourmont, Lett. Manuſcr. à la Bibl. du Roi.

[h] Fourmont, ibid.

[i] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 356.

[k] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 607.

[l] Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. lxxvi. p. 294. Foucherot, Voyag. Manuſcr.

[m] Note Manuſcr. de M. Freret.



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extremity of the island, has been laid down from a plan taken by M. Verguin: and able navigators, according to Bellin [n], when sailing between this cape and that of Tornese, anciently Chelonites, on the continent, have observed the former to bear south-west, and the latter north-east. The distance between these two capes is given differently by different travellers; but I have made it, with Texeira, exactly ten Italian miles [o].

From Cape Chelonites, Strabo says that two hundred and eighty stadia were reckoned to the mouth of the Alpheus [p]. The Portulans, from several bearings, give reason to conclude, on the whole, that the direction was south-east by south; and I have therefore placed the mouth of the Alpheus in this direction from Cape Chelonites. I have not, however, in my maps, allowed more than two hundred and twenty-five Olympian stadia for the distance between these two points; because the coast, in this space, makes great bays, and a great projection; and because, besides, Mr. Chandler and M. Foucherot, who made the journey by land from Pyrgo, near the mouth of the Alpheus, to Chiarenza, anciently Cyllene, not far from Cape Chelonites, give reason to believe that they did not employ more than nine hours in going from one of these places to the other [q].

From the mouth of the Alpheus to Olympia I have followed a small drawing which M. Foucherot drew for me of his route; and which agrees with Pausanias, who reckons a hundred and twenty stadia from Olympia to Letrini [r]. The latter place was at the mouth of the Alpheus; we must therefore correct Strabo, who makes the distance between the mouth of that river and Olympia but eighty stadia [s].

The greater part of the Portulans, Levanto [t], and many maps, agree in making Prodano, anciently the island Prote, on the coast of Messenia, bear south-south-east of Cape Basilico, in the isle of Zante; and also of Cape Chelonites. It is precisely in this direction, with respect to the former of these capes, that I have placed that island in my maps: but for the distance I have followed in preference the Portulan of Romagna, because that alone can be made to agree with the distances taken by land; those given by the others being either too great or too little.

From Prote to Pylos in Messenia, at present old Navarina, or Zonchio, three Portulans give for the distance ten miles. These miles are Greek miles, and are consequently reduced in my maps to six Italian miles and two thirds. The direction is east-south-east.

To the position of Pylos I have afterwards adjusted two manu-

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[n] Bellin, Descript. du Golfe de Ven.

[o] Texeira, Viage, p. 208: en Amberes, 1610, in 8vo.

[p] Strab. lib. 8, p. 343.

[q] Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 73, p. 284. Foucherot, Voyag. Manus.

[r] Pausan. lib. 6, cap. 22, p. 510.

[s] Strab. lib. 8, p. 343.

[t] Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 206.

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ſcript maps by M. Verguin, of which M. D'Anville has alſo made uſe [u]. I could not follow more accurate guides than theſe maps; they have conducted me to Cape Gallo, anciently the promontory of Acritas, at the entrance of the gulf of Meſſenia. Thence it was eaſy for me to aſcend to Corone, now Coron. That city was ſomewhat more than a hundred and ſixty ſtadia from the promontory of Acritas, according to Pauſanias [x]; and travellers [y] reckon by land from Modon, anciently Mothone, to Coron, ſix hours journey, or eighteen Italian miles.

From Coron navigators, according to Bellin [z], have obſerved Cape Gros, anciently Thyrides, in Laconia, to bear ſouth-eaſt and five degrees to the ſouth. The variation appears to me corrected in this bearing. This cape is not far from Tænarum, now Cape Matapan. Pauſanias reckons only ſeventy ſtadia between them [a]; and Bellin ſays that Matapan is diſtant from Cape Gallo, or the promontory of Acritas, thirty miles, or ten marine leagues, to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt [b]. This diſtance, which is the breadth of the entrance of the gulf of Meſſenia, is much greater according to the Portulans. Pliny, however, makes it leſs [c]; on which account I have adhered to the meaſure given by Bellin, and employed it in a right line in my maps.

From Tænarum it was not difficult for me to gain the promontory of Malea. M. Verguin, from the latter cape, had taken the bearing of the former, from two different ſtations; and thus determined the poſition of the promontory of Tænarum with reſpect to that of Malea. By taking the oppoſite directions, I have aſcertained the poſition of Malea from Tænarum. All the environs of the former cape are laid down from a manuſcript chart of the ſame M. Verguin, which has given me the coaſt from the promontory of Malea, now Cape St. Angelo, to the iſle of Cervi, incluſively; as alſo the northern coaſt of the iſland of Cerigo, or Cythera. To this chart is added another of the anchoring place of St. Nicholas, anciently the Phœnician port, in the ſame iſland of Cythera. The remainder of the iſland is taken from Coronelli, [d] whoſe deſcription has been compared with other materials. The iſle of Cervi was formerly only a peninſula, the moſt ſouthern point of which was called Onu-gnathos, or the jaw bone of the aſs.

In the interior part of Peloponneſus, Lacedæmon, or Sparta, is laid down from its diſtance from Megalopolis. Pauſanias ſays that from Sparta to Olympia the diſtance is ſix hundred and ſixty ſtadia [e];

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[u] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 20.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 34, p. 365 et 367.

[y] Breydenbach, Peregr. Terr. Sanct. p. 31: Mogunt. 1486, in fol. Pellegrin, Voyag. de la Morée, p. 7. Foucherot, Voyag. Manuſcr.

[z] Bellin, Deſcript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 202.

[a] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 276.

[b] Bellin, ibid. p. 200.

[c] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, t. i. p. 193.

[d] Coronelli, Deſcript. de la Morée, p. 82: Paris, 1687, in fol.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 6, cap. 16, p. 492.

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and Livy informs us that the road paſſed through Megalopolis [f]. We have ſeen that the table of Peutinger reckons, in two diſtances, thirty-four Roman miles from Olympia to Megalopolis. Theſe thirty-four miles make two hundred and ſeventy-two Olympian ſtadia; which, ſubducted from ſix hundred and ſixty, leave three hundred and eighty-eight ſtadia for the diſtance from Megalopolis to Sparta. The diſtance in my maps, in a right line, is three hundred and thirty ſtadia; and Sparta is placed in the latitude of 37° 10′ N. according to the obſervation of Vernon [g].

It has not been the ſame with Coron: I have not been able to place this city in the latitude obſerved by Vernon [h]. The ſouthern part of Peloponneſus, however, as I have already ſaid, reſts on an obſervation of latitude made at ſea by M. de Chazelles, to the ſouth of Cape Tænarum or Matapan, and directly weſt of the moſt ſouthern point of the iſland of Cythera [i]. This obſervation aſcertains the latitude of the extreme point of Cerigo to be 36° 10′ N.

In the northern part of Peloponneſus, the ſituation of Dyme in Achaia is determined by its diſtance from Olympia. From Olympia to Elis there were two roads: one through the plain, three hundred ſtadia in length [k]; and the other, which was the ſhorteſt, over the mountain. By the latter it was reckoned twelve miles, or ninety-ſix ſtadia, from Olympia to Pylos near Elis [l], and ſeventy or eighty ſtadia from Pylos to Elis itſelf [m]; in the whole, a hundred and ſixty-ſix, or a hundred and ſeventy-ſix, ſtadia, from Olympia to Elis. From the latter city, proceeding into Achaia, Pauſanias reckons a hundred and fifty-ſeven ſtadia [n] to the paſſage of the river Lariſſus; and he adds [o] that, from this river to Dyme, it is about four hundred ſtadia. All theſe diſtances appear to me accurate except the laſt, which cannot be made to agree with the meaſures taken at ſea. Paulmier has indeed perceived that there muſt be an error in this number [p]; but he has not corrected it. I would propoſe to ſubſtitute in the Greek the numeral letter which denotes forty for that which ſignifies four hundred; and we ſhall then have three hundred and ſixty-three, or three hundred and ſeventy-three, ſtadia, for the diſtance from Olympia to Dyme. My maps give more than three hundred and twenty in a right line.

I could not place Dyme at a greater diſtance from Olympia. Dyme was only ſixty ſtadia from the promontory of Araxus, according to Strabo [q]; and the Venetian Portulan reckons only eighteen miles in a right line from this cape to Chelonites, the ſituation of which has already been determined.

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[f] Liv. lib. 45, cap. 28.
[g] Journal de Vernon, p. 302.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Note Manuſcr. de M. Freret.
[k] Strab. lib. 8, p. 367. Pauſan. lib. 6, cap. 22, p. 510.
[l] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, t. i. p. 193.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 248. Pauſan. lib. 6, p. 509.
[n] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 26, p. 520.
[o] Id. lib. 7, cap. 17, p. 564.
[p] Palmer, Exercit. p. 412.
[q] Strab. lib. 8, p. 337.

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M. Verguin has taken the plan of an anchoring place situated to the east of the promontory of Araxus, now Cape Papa, which extends to Dyme. From this anchoring place the town of Patræ, anciently Patræ, has been observed, according to Bellin [r], to bear east by north. The variation appears to me to have been corrected in this observation. But the distance from Dyme to Patræ, according to several ancient authors, is a hundred and twenty stadia [s]: from the promontory of Araxus to Patræ, therefore, the distance was a hundred and eighty stadia. In my maps it is a hundred and sixty-four, or a hundred and sixty-five, in a right line.

The situation of Patræ is also determined by its distance from the isthmus of Corinth. This distance is seven hundred and twenty stadia, according to Agathemerus [t]; and there is no reason to suspect an error, since Pliny estimates it at the same. The latter says that the length of the gulf of Corinth, or of the sea of Crissa, to the isthmus, is eighty-five miles [u]; and he adds, that from the promontory of Rhium it is five miles to Patræ [x]; in the whole, ninety miles, which make exactly seven hundred and twenty stadia. This measure also agrees very well with some particular distances on the coast of Achaia, given by Pausanias and the Peutinger table [y]. In my maps, the distance in a right line between the part of the isthmus on the sea of Crissa where a wall terminates, and the position of Patræ, is six hundred and sixty-five stadia. It may perhaps be thought that I have not made a sufficient allowance in reducing the itinerary measure to a right line; but it is to be observed that the coast is almost straight, and makes no other elbow than that of the cape of Sicyon. This cape has been observed by Wheler [z] to bear north-west by north of the Acro-corinthus; and the Greek and Venetian Portulans place Patræ in the direction of west by south, and even west-south-west, from that cape.

In front of Patræ is the island of Cefalonia, anciently Cephallenia, which, according to Strabo [a], is only eighty stadia distant from the promontory of Chelonites in Peloponnesus, and sixty from the island of Zacynthus. The figure of it is taken from a Venetian chart, the same that M. D'Anville has made use of [b]. This chart, which appears to me to have been drawn with care, has also furnished me with a part of the island of Ithaca, now Teaki; and the ports situated in the north of the latter island are laid down from a plan taken by M. Verguin.

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[r] Bellin, Descript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 186.

[s] Apollodor. in Steph. Fragm. voc. Δύμη. Strab. ibid. p. 385. Pausan. lib. 7, cap. 18, p. 567, 568. Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.

[t] Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geograph. Min. Græc. t. ii.

[u] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. i. p. 192.

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 193.

[y] Pausan. lib. 7, passim. Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.

[z] Wheler's Journey, b. 6, p. 442.

[a] Strab. lib. 10, p. 456 et 458.

[b] D'Anville, Anal. des. Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10, 21.

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From Cephallenia Strabo again reckons fifty ſtadia to Leucadia [c]. But this diſtance is erroneous: for navigators eſtimate it at not leſs than three marine leagues, or nine Italian miles [d]; at which diſtance I have placed theſe two iſlands in my map, following the bearing which the Venetian Portulan has given between the moſt northern cape of Cefalonia and the moſt ſouthern of Leucadia. The latter iſland is now called St. Maura, and was long only a peninſula: it is laid down from a map of Coronelli's, of which M. D'Anville has alſo made uſe [e]. The coaſt of the oppoſite continent, towards Alyxia, as well as the iſlands between that and Leucadia, are taken from a plan by M. Verguin.

The town Leucas was not ſituated in the ſame place as that of St. Maura is at preſent. The ruins of it are ſtill to be ſeen at ſome diſtance on the ſea ſhore, and in a place where the iſland approaches neareſt to the main land. It was built by the Corinthians, on the iſthmus by which the iſland anciently was joined to the continent; but the iſthmus having been cut through, the town remained on the iſland, and the channel took the name of Dioryctos. According to the accounts of ancient authors [f], the diſtance from Patræ to Leucas was eſtimated at ſeven hundred ſtadia; but in my map it is but five hundred and ſeventy-five, in a right line, becauſe the navigation from one of theſe ports to the other is much embarraſſed; and becauſe, beſides, the diſtance from Naupactus to Dioryctos, according to the table of Peutinger, would not allow me to make it more.

Naupactus, now called Lepanto, lies more to the eaſt than Patræ. This city is ſituated on the ſea of Criſſa, not far from the promontory of Antirrhium. From it the Peutinger table [g] gives, at ſeveral diſtances, ſeventy-eight Roman miles to Dioryctos. Theſe ſeventy-eight miles amount to ſix hundred and twenty-four Olympian ſtadia; and I have made the diſtance more than ſix hundred, in a right line.

On the road from Patræ to Dioryctos, the Achelous, now called Aſpro-potamo, or the White River, was croſſed. Coronelli has given a map of a part of the courſe of this river [h], which was taken in conſequence of an incurſion that the Venetians made into Acarnania and Ætolia in 1684. I have found in it the track of the ancient road; but as the ſcale of it is erroneous, I have rectified it from the diſtances pointed out by M. Foucherot [i], who has travelled through the country; and have adjuſted the whole map to the poſition of Œniadæ, which was ſituated at the mouth of the Alpheus, and diſ-

[c] Strab. lib. 10, p. 456.
[d] Coronelli, Deſcript. de la Morée, p. 65. Bellin, Deſcript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 163.
[e] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10.
[f] Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 2, p. 105. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 108, t. i. p. 124; lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 192. Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii.
[g] Peuting. Tab. ſegm. 7.
[h] Coronelli, Deſcript. de la Morée, p. 69.
[i] Foucherot, Voyag. Manuſcr.

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tant one hundred ſtadia from the promontory Araxus in Peloponneſus [k].

This map extends to the ruins of Stratos, which was built on the right bank of the river, at the diſtance of more than two hundred ſtadia from its mouth, according to Strabo [l]. Yet the ſame author ſays, ſoon after [m], that Stratos was half-way between Alyzia and Anactorium; and the latter city ſtood on the gulf of Ambracia. Paulmier has endeavoured [n] to reconcile theſe two paſſages: but his uſual penetration appears here to have forſaken him; he offers nothing ſatisfactory. If he had attended to the reſpective ſituation of the places, he might eaſily have perceived that the ſecond paſſage is corrupted; and that inſtead of Ἀναχτόριον, we ſhould read Ἀκτίον.

From Leucas, Strabo reckons two hundred and forty ſtadia to the temple of Actium, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia, on the coaſt of Acarnania [o]. This diſtance appears to me erroneous; for the Peutinger table only gives fifteen miles between Dioryctos and Nicopolis, which was afterwards built by Auguſtus, on the other ſide of the gulf, in Epirus [p]; and the Portulans and travellers [q] compute the diſtance between the fortreſs of St. Maura and that of La Preveza at only twelve miles. Theſe miles, which can only be Greek miles, I have laid down in a right line on my map. For the bearing I have followed that given by Bellin [r].

The gulf of Ambracia, at preſent the gulf of Arta, is laid down from a large map of Coronelli's, the ſame that M. D'Anville has made uſe of [s]; but, like him, I have been obliged to correct its ſcale, and adjuſt the map to the meaſures which Polybius has given of this gulf [t].

In this latitude Greece is ſhut in between two gulfs; that of Ambracia to the weſt, and that of Malia to the eaſt; ſo that the interval that ſeparates them is conſidered by Strabo as an iſthmus, of which he gives the meaſure [u], which he makes to be eight hundred ſtadia from the bottom of the gulf of Ambracia to Thermopylæ on the Maliac gulf. This meaſure has enabled me to determine the point of Thermopylæ, which is alſo given by other means. The ſame author ſays, that from the bottom of the gulf of Criſſa the diſtance to Thermopylæ, in a right line, is five hundred and eight ſtadia [x]. What Strabo calls the gulf of Criſſa is the ſea of Criſſa, or of Alcyon, which was afterwards named the gulf of Corinth.

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[k] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4, p. 329.
[l] Strab. lib. 10, p. 450.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 388.
[o] Strab. lib. 10, p. 451.
[p] Peuting. Tab. ſegm. 7.
[q] Des Hayes, Voyag. du Levant, p. 467: Paris, 1632, 4°. Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 81.
[r] Bellin, Deſcript. du Golfe de Ven. p. 161.
[s] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 10. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 513.
[t] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4, p. 327.
[u] Strab. lib. 8, p. 334. Strab. Epitom. lib. 8, p. 112, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii.
[x] Id. ibid.



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He says nothing of any particular gulf of Crissa, near Delphi; and perhaps I have been wrong in representing it distinct from this sea in my maps. Lastly, the bottom of the gulf of Crissa, in Strabo, is in the environs of Pagæ, in Megaris [y]. In my maps the distance from Thermopylæ to this city, in a right line, is four hundred and seventy stadia, which does not exactly agree with that given by Strabo; but the comparison of the bearings, of which I shall speak presently, would not permit me to admit a greater. The first distance is laid down in a right line within about twelve stadia.

The bottom of the sea of Crissa is determined—1. From the distance from Pagæ to Megara, or to Nisæa [z]. 2. From that between Creusis in Bœotia and the promontory of Olmiæ near Corinth [a]. 3. From the bearing of this same promontory, as observed by Wheler [b], from the harbour of San Basilio, which lies to the east of that anciently called Eutretus, and now Livadostro.

For the interior part of Attica, Bœotia, and Phocis, it would at first view seem to admit of no doubt that we ought to follow the map of Wheler; but if we examine it with attention we shall find that it is not to be confided in. The map of this traveller differs essentially from his journal. The bearings he has given in the latter are not found the same in the map. I shall instance only in the position of Corinth. We have seen that, according to the bearings given by Wheler, that city must be more to the south than Athens; yet in the map, in whatever manner it be taken, it will be found to lie more to the north. I know well that the difference of latitude found between these two cities on the map may be diminished by taking the north for that indicated by the compass; but, even thus, Corinth cannot be brought down to its true place. It is the same with other places observed by Vernon. If we take the map of Wheler as it stands, we shall find they are all in the latitudes he has given: Wheler has then adjusted his map to the observations of Vernon. But of this proofs are unnecessary; Wheler has himself told us so in his preface. He has not perceived that these latitudes, for the most part erroneous, destroy the accuracy of all his own operations. Besides, how could he lay down places according to their latitude on a map taken by the compass, without correcting the variation? We can therefore only make use of this map partially; it is rather to be had recourse to as containing memorandums that have their value, than as an exact representation of the country.

I have taken all the bearings given by Wheler; and have followed the English original, because the French translation is frequently faulty. Wheler indeed has only given the points of the compass, which leave us in an uncertainty of 11° 15′; but, by comparing a great

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[y] Strab. lib. 8, p. 336, 379; lib. 9, p. 409.

[z] Strab. lib. 8, p. 334. Strab. Epitom. lib. 8, p. 111, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii. Peuting. Tab. segm. 7.

[a] Strab. lib. 9, p. 409.

[b] Wheler's Journey, b. 6, p. 472.

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number of these bearings, I have been able to ascertain some points with tolerable accuracy, and have reason to believe that I have restored this map to what it was before he had adjusted it to the observations of Vernon. I have only corrected, in all his bearings, the variation; which I have taken, with M. D'Anville [c], at a point of the compass towards the west.

The plans of M. Foucherot have given me the summits of Mount Pentelicus, Mount Hymettus, and the Cerate Mountains. I have taken my station with Wheler on the two latter, and also at the Acro-corinthus, to determine the position of Cithæron. From Cithæron and the Acro-corinthus I have determined Helicon, and also the summit of Parnassus called Lycoria, which has been observed by Wheler to be directly north of the Acro-corinthus [d]. From Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus, I have ascertained the position of Mount Ptous, in Bœotia; from the latter and Cithæron, Mount Teumessus, near Chalcis, or Negropont; from Cithæron and Mount Hymettus, Mount Parnes; from Mount Ptous, several mountains in the island of Eubœa, and one near Opus, now called Talanda. Lastly, from the Acro-corinthus I have determined several capes which run out into the sea of Crissa. Among all these situations, the position of Chalcis or Negropont in Eubœa is found in the latitude given by Vernon [e]; but I have not been able to place either Thebes or Delphi in the latitudes assigned them by that traveller.

From Turco-Chorio, anciently Elatea, Wheler has observed the summit of Parnassus to bear south by west [f]: by taking the opposite direction I have determined the position of Elatea from Parnassus. Turco-Chorio is laid down in a map of Thermopylæ, taken in 1781, by M. Foucherot; so that it has been easy to adjust this map to mine. It is the same which I have copied, in part, in the plan of the pass of Thermopylæ. It has conducted me to Zeitoun, and has besides given me the point of the island of Eubœa. Zeitoun is the ancient Lamia, as is proved by an inscription given by Paul Lucas [g]; but the country in the environs is scarcely to be known for the same. The Sperchius no longer flows in the same channel as formerly; the marshes which existed in the time of Herodotus are now become firm ground; the Maliac gulf fills up every day; and the strait of Thermopylæ is at present much wider than it was in the time of Xerxes.

From Athens to Thermopylæ many of the distances which are given by ancient authors have appeared to me to be computed in Pythian stadia, or stadia which are shorter by one fifth than the Olympian. I shall here only instance in some that are given near Thermopylæ; by comparing which with the same distances in Roman

[c] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 25.
[d] Wheler's Journey, b. 4, p. 318.
[e] Journal de Vernon, p. 302.
[f] Whel. ibid. b. 6, p. 462.
[g] Paul Lucas, Second Voyag. t. i. p. 405. Inscript. 52.



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meaſures, we ſhall perceive that the ſtadia in which they are eſtimated are in the proportion of ten to the mile.

Herodotus, when deſcribing this famous paſs, reckons forty-five ſtadia from Anticyra, along the Sperchius, to Trachis [h]; and Strabo ſays that the Sperchius is diſtant from Lamia thirty ſtadia [i]; in the whole, ſeventy-five ſtadia from Trachis to Lamia. But Trachis having been deſtroyed, according to the ſame Strabo [k], Heraclea was built at about ſix ſtadia diſtance. Subduct theſe ſix ſtadia from ſeventy-five, and there will remain ſixty-nine for the diſtance from Lamia to Heraclea; and Livy ſays expreſsly, ſpeaking of theſe two cities, *interſunt ſeptem millia fermè paſſuum* [l]. The ſame proportion is likewiſe found in the diſtance from Heraclea to the hot ſprings at Thermopylæ. This diſtance is forty ſtadia, according to Thucydides [m], which meaſure is confirmed by Strabo [n]; yet Pliny makes it only four Roman miles [o].

An obſervation taken by M. Foucherot, at Thermopylæ, of the bearing of that part of the coaſt of Theſſaly which extends fartheſt to the ſouth, has given me the direction of the channel which ſeparates this country from Eubœa. This channel is much longer than it is repreſented in the greater part of maps, but it is extremely narrow; for I have not been able to employ the eighty ſtadia aſſigned by Herodotus [p] for the diſtance between Artemiſium and Aphetæ, but by taking them at only fifty-three toiſes each, as M. D'Anville has done in his map of ancient Greece. The length I have given to this channel is the ſame with that of the coaſt of Eubœa which borders it; and this coaſt extends the ſpace of thirty-ſix Italian miles, according to a manuſcript chart of the Archipelago, drawn by the pilot Gautier, in 1738. On the moſt northern cape of the iſland of Eubœa formerly ſtood the city of Cerinthus, the name of which has been corrupted by mariners into that of Capo Rhento.

Several maps make this cape bear due north of the promontory of Sepias, now cape St. George; and the chart of Gautier places the latter directly ſouth of the point of Caſſander, anciently the promontory of Poſidium, in the peninſula of Pallene. The diſtance from the promontory of Poſidium to Sepias appears to me to be about thirty five Italian miles; Gautier makes it more; but it cannot much exceed this, for the latitude of the promontory of Poſidium is determined by that of Therma, now Salonichi, at the bottom of the Thermaic gulf. The whole coaſt from that city to the promontory of Canaſtreum, now Canoniſtro, is laid down from a chart taken geometrically, in 1738, by M. Le Roi, an engineer who accompanied the marquis d'Antin. The map of M. Le Roi has alſo furniſhed me with the mouths of the Axius, and even the coaſt of Theſſaly, though the latter be only laid down from eſtimation.

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[h] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 198.
[i] Strab. lib. 9, p. 433.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 428.
[l] Liv. lib. 36, cap. 25.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 92.
[n] Strab. lib. 9, p. 429.
[o] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 7, t. i. p. 199.
[p] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 8.

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The longitude and latitude of Salonichi have been obſerved by father Feuillée [q]. It is ſituated 20° 48′ eaſt of Paris, and in latitude 40° 41′ 10″ N. From the poſition of this place I have determined the longitude of all Greece, in my general map.

The ſummit of Mount Olympus, in Theſſaly, is aſcertained by its bearing from Salonichi. The valley of Tempe is given from a manuſcript map of Mr. Stuart, a learned Engliſhman, who has publiſhed the Antiquities of Athens; and the bottom of the Pagaſitic gulf is determined, as I have already ſaid, from the latitude of Pagaſæ, now the caſtle of Volo. The latitude of this caſtle is 39° 21′, according to Dapper [r]. I know not whence he obtained this obſervation, but it appears to me ſufficiently accurate. The iſles Sciathos, Scopelos, and the others near to them, are taken from the chart of Gauthier; except that of Scyros, which is laid down from the plan given of it by the Count de Choiſeul-Gouffier [s].

On the weſtern coaſt I ſtopped at the gulf of Ambracia. I ſhall now proceed to determine the poſition of the iſland of Corcyra, at preſent Corfu. Coronelli has given a map of this iſland, which is ſufficiently minute; but the ſcale of it is defective. M. D'Anville has corrected it [t], by comparing it with a plan taken by M. Verguin. I have done the ſame; and have afterwards adjuſted to the poſition of this iſland the coaſt of Epirus, from Buthrotum to the promontory Chimærium, and even beyond. The greater number of the Portulans place the iſlands called Paxæ to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of Corfu; they are nevertheleſs laid down very nearly ſouth in all the maps, and ſo they are found in mine. In giving their figure I have followed a map by Van Keulen.

From theſe iſlands the Greek and compiled Portulans make Cape Sidero, the moſt weſterly point of Cephallenia, to bear ſouth by eaſt; and Levanto ſays [u] this is in general the courſe ſteered in ſailing from Corfu to Cefalonia. The diſtance is different according to different authors; but it is determined by the latitude of Corfu, which, according to the tables of Riccioli and Pimentel [x], which are conſtructed from the obſervations of navigators, is 39° 37′ N. The poſition of Corfu agrees with the ſeven hundred ſtadia which the ancients computed between Leucas and Corcyra [y]. The latter city is not indeed the ſame with Corfu: the ruins of it are ſeen at a little diſtance to the ſouth, in a peninſula now called Cherſopoli; and from this peninſula to Leucas, the diſtance, in a right line, on my map,

[q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1702, p. 9.

[r] Dapper, Deſcript. de l'Archip. p. 342.

[s] Voyag. Pittor. de la Grèce, pl. 40, t. i. p. 77.

[t] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 9.

[u] Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 105, &c.

[x] Ricciol. Geograph. et Hydrogr. Reform. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 384: Venet. 1672, in fol. Pimentel, Arte de Navegar, p. 216: Liſboa, 1722, in fol.

[y] Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 2, p. 105. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 108, t. i. p. 124. Agathem. lib. 1, cap. 4, p. 10, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. ii.

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is ſix hundred and twelve Olympian ſtadia, which appears a ſuitable reduction.

From Corcyra the ancients again reckoned ſeven hundred ſtadia [a] to the Acro-ceraunian mountains; or perhaps only ſix hundred and ſixty, which is the number in the manuſcript of Agathemerus [a]; though Tennulius has thought proper to correct it from the text of Pliny. He would have done better to have corrected Pliny [b] by Agathemerus. In my map the diſtance of five hundred and ninety ſtadia will be found, in a right line, between Corcyra and the point of the Acro-ceraunian or Ceraunian mountains, now called La Linguetta. This reduction is not too great. The poſition of that point is likewiſe aſcertained by other means.

The latitude of this point is taken from a large chart of the Gulf of Oricum, now La Valona, geometrically taken, in 1690, by a Venetian engineer, named Alberghetti, in which the latitude ſeems to have been given from an aſtronomical obſervation made at La Valona, though it is not mentioned in the chart. Its longitude is deduced from its bearing with reſpect to the moſt northern point of Corfu: at leaſt, Levanto ſays [c] that Corfu lies ten leagues to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt of the iſle of Saſeno, anciently Saſo. The leagues of this pilot are always four Italian miles each, as has been remarked by M. D'Anville [d]; and, taking the oppoſite direction, the ten leagues will preciſely extend from Cape Phalacrum, the moſt northern point of Corfu, to the latitude which the Venetian chart aſſigns to the point of La Linguetta. I have therefore reaſon to believe that the Ceraunian mountains are rightly placed in my map. On the other hand, the poſition of the Cape La Linguetta, which is placed due ſouth of Saſeno in the Venetian chart, is ſhewn to be right by that of the ſmall iſland Thoronos. The latter is directly to the ſouth [e] of Saſeno, and due weſt [f] of Phalacrum in Corcyra.

The chart of the Gulf of Oricum, which appeared to me very carefully laid down, has furniſhed me with the coaſts of that gulf, thoſe of the iſland Saſo, and even a part of the courſe of the river Celydnus. I have alſo profited by a note engraved on that chart, which contains a conciſe but well drawn deſcription of the country in the environs of La Valona, the ancient Aulon. It has likewiſe given me the diſtances deſcending to the ſouth to Buthrotum, oppoſite Corcyra; and has, beſides, conducted me to Durazzo, or Epidamnus, in Illyricum. But it muſt ſurely excite our aſtoniſhment that ſo accurate a chart ſhould have remained almoſt unknown to the time of M. D'Anville [g]; the reaſon of which no doubt is, that the greater part of geographers, accuſtomed to copy from each other, have never thought of examining Greece in detail, as has been done by M. D'Anville.

[a] Polyb. ap. Strab. ibid.
[a] Agathem. ibid.
[b] Plin. ibid.
[c] Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 95, 104.
[d] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 4.
[e] Portul. Grec, et Compilé. Levanto, ibid.
[f] Portul. Manuſcr. Coronelli, Deſcript. de la Morée, p. 63.
[g] D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 6.

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The Greek and compiled Portulans, Levanto [h], and Alberghetti, in a note, lay down Durazzo due north of the isle of Saseno. I have placed it in that direction; and for the distance I think we should prefer that given by Alberghetti; not that the others differ much from it, but because it is the greatest of all: yet has it still obliged me to take the least of two different latitudes which have been assigned to Durazzo, and which, as I have already said, is that of the table of Philip Lansberge [i], who states it at 41° 27′. The tables of Harris and Riccioli place Durazzo more to the north, and make the latitude 41° 58′ [k]; but this would require almost double the distance.

From all that I have said it appears to me that the western coast of Greece is ascertained with tolerable accuracy: it is therefore now only necessary to enquire whether my measures will be found exact, if we cross to the eastern side. I have already determined the breadth of Greece; first in Peloponnesus, by the distance of Argos from Olympia; and, afterwards, in the middle of Greece itself, by that of the Gulf of Ambracia from Thermopylæ. I shall now proceed to ascertain it in the most northern part, by the extent of the Egnatian way, which went from Apollonia and Epidamnus to Thessalonica or Therma, at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf, and even beyond. This way indeed was made by the Romans, and did not exist till a long time after the æra of the travels of Anacharsis: yet the measure of its length to Thessalonica will enable us to determine the space which separates the two seas. This measure is given in Roman miles.

Polybius, according to Strabo [l], reckoned two hundred and sixty-seven miles on this road from Apollonia in Illyricum to Thessalonica. Strabo afterwards remarks that the road was not longer from Dyrrachium or Epidamnus, than from Apollonia [m]; it will therefore be indifferent whether we take the measure of it from one or the other of those cities. I shall take it from Epidamnus, because I have already determined the position of that place. The 267 Roman miles, at 756 toises each, at which they are estimated by M. D'Anville [n], make 201852 toises; and on my map the distance between Epidamnus and Therma, in a right line, is 167200. The reduction of the itinerary measure to the right line is about one sixth, which I imagine will appear a suitable proportion in a mountainous country, and where the road passes through several defiles. Alberghetti, besides, says that the distance from Durazzo to Salonichi is little more than two hundred Italian miles.

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[h] Levanto, Specchio del Mare, p. 95.

[i] Philip. Lansberg. Tab. Mot. Cœl. Perp. p. 8: Middelb. 1663, in fol.

[k] Harris's Diction. under the word Latitude: London, 1736, fol. Riccioli. Geogr. et Hydrogr. Reform. lib. 9, cap. 4, p. 397.

[l] Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 7, p. 323.

[m] Strab. ibid.

[n] D'Anville, Traité des Mes. Itin. p. 44.



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In the interior part of Epirus ſome particularities may be remarked that are not found in any maps before publiſhed. They are taken in part from a manuſcript journey from Arta, anciently Ambracia, by Joannina, and Gomphi, to Lariſſa in Theſſaly; and in part from the Greek geography of Meletius, a native of Joannina, a town ſituated on the lake Acheruſia. It may perhaps excite ſurpriſe to ſee this lake within land, at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, while all the maps place it at the mouth of the Acheron: yet Scylax and Strabo [o] make the Acheron not fall into this lake, but riſe out of it: and Pliny ſtill more poſitively ſays [p] that the Acheron, after having flowed out of the lake Acheruſia, makes a courſe of thirty-ſix miles to arrive at the ſea. This is in fact the diſtance from Joannina to port Veliki, anciently Glycys, or the Sweet Port. The Acheron in this ſpace loſes itſelf for ſome time under ground, according to Meletius [q]; and this it is, no doubt, which has cauſed it to be repreſented as one of the rivers of hell. The ſame is probably the caſe with the Cocytus, which riſes out of the ſame lake.

I ſhall not enter into ſo minute a detail of the remainder of the general map, though all the parts of it have been laid down on the ſame ſcale as the particular ones. The general map is, as I may ſay, only the extract of a work of much greater labour; it will therefore be ſufficient to indicate the principal points.

The figure of the three peninſulas of Chalcidice and the Gulf of Pieria, to the iſle of Thaſos incluſively, is taken from a manuſcript chart of the pilot Gauthier, found among the papers of M. Freret. This chart has been adjuſted to that of the eaſtern coaſt of the Thermaic Gulf, taken geometrically by M. Le Roi, and of which I have already ſpoken. In this chart of Gauthier's the peninſula in which Mount Athos is ſituated, extends to a ſomewhat greater length than in another manuſcript map of the Archipelago, which is to be found in the Geographical Collection for Foreign Affairs: but I have reaſon to believe the manuſcript which I have followed accurate, becauſe it agrees with the meaſures of this peninſula given by Pliny and Belon [r]; and becauſe, beſides, the ſummit of Mount Athos has preciſely the ſame bearing from the ruins of Alexandria Troas, more anciently Sigeum, which it was obſerved to have by Mr. Chandler [s].

The iſle of Lemnos is laid down according to its diſtances from Mount Athos and the Helleſpont, and the bearings indicated by the ſhadow of Mount Athos, as it projects itſelf on that iſland. Myrina, the principal city of Lemnos, could not be at the north-weſt point, as it is found in ſome maps. The ſhadow of Mount Athos, according to the teſtimony of almoſt all antiquity, did not reach a

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[o] Scyl. p. 11, ap. Geogr. Min. Græc. t. i. Strab. lib. 7, p. 324.

[p] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 1, t. i. p. 189.

[q] Μελετ. Γεωγρ. lib. 1, ſect. 18, cap. 3, No. 10: Venet. 1728, in fol.

[r] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 10, t. i. p. 202. Belon, Obſerv. liv. 1, chap. 35.

[s] Chandl. Trav. in Aſia Min. chap. 8, p. 23.

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brazen cow which ſtood in the forum till the ſummer ſolſtice[t]; and Belon has remarked[u] that the ſhadow already projected on the north-weſt angle of Lemnos, on the 2d of June. The coaſt of Thrace, from Thaſos to the mouth of the Hebrus, is laid down from the indications of the Portulans, compared with the Roman itineraries.

The latitude of the Dardanelles, anciently the Helleſpont, has been obſerved by M. de Chazelles[x]; but for their poſition I have entirely followed a large manuſcript chart taken within theſe few years by M. Tondu, an aſtronomer, who has aſcertained their longitude and latitude. This chart has furniſhed me with the coaſts of the Gulf of Melas, the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and the oppoſite Aſiatic ſhore, to Tenedos. To this is added another chart, alſo in manuſcript, taken by M. Truguet, captain of a frigate, under the orders of the count de Choiſeul-Gouffier. From this I have obtained the remainder of the coaſt of the Troas, the Gulf of Adramyttium to the entrance of that of Cyme, and the whole iſland of Leſbos.

The Propontis, now the ſea of Marmara, is adjuſted, on the one hand, to the poſition of Byzantium, or Conſtantinople, the longitude and latitude of which are taken, as I have already ſaid, from the *Connoiſſance des Temps* for the year 1788[y]; and, on the other, to that of the Dardanelles. The figure of it is taken from a large manuſcript map, deſigned in 1731 by M. Bohn, an engineer, in the ſervice of prince Ragozzi. This map is the ſame that M. D'Anville made uſe of[z]. I have copied it exactly, except that I have thought I ought to place Cyzicus more to the eaſt, from the diſtances given by ancient authors, and even by modern travellers. The bottom of the Gulf of Aſtacus, and the lake near to Ancora, are taken from a manuſcript chart by M. Peiſſonel; and the Boſphorus of Thrace, now the canal of Conſtantinople, is laid down from a particular plan which I have given of it.

To the poſition of Smyrna, the longitude and latitude of which have been obſerved by Father Feuillée[a], I have adjuſted a large manuſcript chart of a part of the Archipelago, which I had deſigned in 1785. This chart contains all the iſlands to the ſouth of the parallel of Smyrna, and to the north of that of Rhodes, as well as the correſponding coaſts of Europe and Aſia. The iſlands are placed in it according to the obſervations of Tournefort, and other travellers; and their figures are taken from different plans, ſome of which are manuſcript. A great number of theſe plans are found in Tournefort; the

t Sophocl. ap. Etymol. Magn. in Ἀθως. Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. 1, v. 604. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 214. Plut. de Fac. in Orb. Lun. t. ii. p. 935. Solin. cap. ii. p. 31.

u Belon, Obſerv. liv. 1, chap. 25.

x Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1761, p. 168.

y Connoiſſance des Temps pour 1788, p. 245.

z D'Anville, Anal. des Côtes de la Grèce, p. 33.

a Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1702, p. 8.



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count de Choiſeul-Gouffier has given ſeveral[b]; and I have alſo derived advantage from thoſe contained in the collections of Dapper, Boſchini, and even Bordoné. The plans of the iſlands of Thera and Aſtypalæa are manuſcript; they were taken in 1738 by M. Le Roi, and the latitude of the iſlands has been obſerved.

On the coaſt of Aſia the Hermæan Gulf, now the Gulf of Smyrna, has been laid down from a manuſcript chart, taken by the ſame M. Le Roi; and the bottom of that of Cyme is aſcertained by the poſition of Phocæa. This city was a little leſs than two hundred ſtadia diſtant from Smyrna, according to Strabo[c]. The latter was not built till ſome time after the date of the travels of Anacharſis: it was twenty ſtadia from the ancient city[d], and is that which is at preſent ſo flouriſhing. The reſt of the coaſt to Lycia is taken from the charts of the count de Choiſeul-Gouffier, which have been likewiſe compared with the diſtances given by ancient authors.

Throughout almoſt the whole of Aſia Minor, the rivers bring down an immenſe quantity of ſlime and mud, and form accumulations of earth at their mouths. The Scamander in Troas, the Caicus near Pergamus, the Hermus near Smyrna, and the Cayſter, which flows by Epheſus, have enlarged the country they traverſe: but no where is there a more remarkable inſtance of this than in the environs of Miletus. The Mæander has heaped up ſo much ſand, that a deep bay, ſituated between the city and the river, is now only a lake; and the iſlands Lade and Aſterius, at the entrance of that bay, are become eminences in the plain.

Near Miletus is the promontory of Trogilium, from which Strabo reckons ſixteen hundred ſtadia to Sunium in Attica[e].

Rhodes is placed in the latitude obſerved by M. de Chazelles[f], which is 36° 28′ 30″ N.; and the figure which I have given to the iſland is taken from an ancient map corrected by the meaſures of Strabo, and other authors. The latitude of the little iſland of Caſos is taken from the chart of the Archipelago deſigned for the *Dépôt de la Marine*, in 1738; in which this iſland is laid down according to obſervation. The iſland of Crete is copied from the general map of the iſland of Candia, given by Boſchini[g], for want of a better. This map has been adjuſted to the obſervations of longitude and latitude made by Father Feuillée at Candia and Canea[h], as well as to the diſtances given by ancient and modern authors. I have however been obliged to lay down the whole eaſtern part of the iſland more to the north. The promontory of Samonium, according to Pliny[i], was diſtant only ſixty Roman miles, or four hundred and eighty Olym-

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[b] Voyag. Pittor. de la Grèce.
[c] Strab. lib. 14, p. 663.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 646.
[e] Strab. lib. 14, p. 636.
[f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1761, p. 167.
[g] Boſchini, Il Regno Tutto di Candia: Venet. 1651, in fol.
[h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, ann. 1702, p. 10, 11.
[i] Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 210.

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pian ſtadia, from the iſland Carpathos; and the promontory Cadiſcus ſeventy-three miles, or ſix hundred ſtadia, from Malea in Peloponneſus.

Nothing now remains but to mention ſome particulars which have not yet been noticed in the courſe of theſe obſervations, and which yet are eſſential to be known.

Theſe maps are deſigned for the period when Greece was free. I have made it a rule not to inſert in them places the foundation or exiſtence of which was poſterior to the battle of Chæronea. Some however will be found which are only mentioned in more modern authors; but they exiſted long before, at leaſt the time when they were founded is unknown. I have inſerted under their ancient names cities which did not become celebrated until ſome time after, when they received new names. Such are Olbia and Ancora in Bithynia, which were afterwards called Nicomedia and Nicæa; Sigeum in Troas, which was ſoon afterwards named Alexandria-Troas; Idrias in Caria, which was named Stratonicea; and Therma, and Potidæa, in Macedonia, which took the names of Theſſalonica and Caſſandria, &c. &c.

Other cities changed their ſituation without changing their names. Among theſe the principal are Salamis, in the iſland of the ſame name, on the coaſt of Attica; Sicyon, Orchomenus, and Hermione, in Peloponneſus; Pharſalos, in Theſſaly; and Smyrna and Epheſus, in Ionia. All theſe cities are placed in their ancient ſite in my maps. Cyzicus in the Propontis, and Clazomenæ in Ionia, are only iſlands, becauſe they were not joined to the continent till ſome time after. Laſtly, Olynthus in Macedonia, and ſome other cities, are marked as deſtroyed; becauſe, ſince they had made a conſpicuous figure in the hiſtory of Greece, it was proper to point out their poſition.

The diviſions of countries are traced on the general map for the æra of the battle of Chæronea, which was fought on the third of Auguſt of the year 338 before Chriſt. The whole continent of Aſia then appertained to the king of Perſia. Philip the father of Alexander poſſeſſed Macedon, and the coaſts of Thrace, except the Cherſoneſus, and the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium. The iſlands of Thaſos and Haloneſus were alſo dependant on him; and almoſt all Illyricum was ſubjected to him. Epirus was divided among ſeveral nations, the greater part of which were free. One among others, that of the Moloſſi, was governed by a king who was conſiderably powerful; and the ally, but not the tributary, of Philip. All the remainder was inhabited by free Greeks. Several iſlands, however, acknowledged the ſovereignty of certain republics; as the iſles of Samos, Lemnos, Scyros, Imbros, and even the Thracian Cherſoneſus, which was in ſome meaſure dependant on the republic of Athens. As to that part of Aſia which is included in my map, it was divided into three ſatrapies, which contained a number of petty tyrants eſtabliſhed by the king of Perſia in the Greek cities.



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My particular maps, on the contrary, have very different dates. Each is deſigned for the very year in which Anacharſis is ſuppoſed to have travelled through the province it repreſents.- Hence is it that, in the map of Phocis, all the cities which were deſtroyed after the Social War are inſerted as ſtill in exiſtence; and, in that of Arcadia, all the cities the inhabitants of which went to people Megalopolis are marked as deſtroyed.

THE END.

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